

CHAPTER 7

INTELLECTUAL LIFE

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INTELLECTUAL life in this period is often given labels which relate to other politico-cultural events and phenomena: the 'post-Carolingian' or 'pre-Gregorian' age. The former view clearly conceives of the tenth century as a continuation of the Carolingian renaissance; by implication, continuation leads to decadence and finally to the Ottonian renaissance. The latter term sees the intellectual and spiritual movement of the monastic tradition (in Gorze and Cluny) and the episcopal tradition (as in Rather of Verona) as precursors of Gregorian church reform and of the Investiture Contest.¹ Such descriptions have long left the tenth century without a name of its own, except perhaps for one of the negative descriptions applied since Baronius' time: the 'iron century', the 'dark century'.² Recent reactions against this have led to the period's being described as a great era of cultural renewal and renaissance. Rather than considering the age as particularly obscure or particularly enlightened, it is more useful to look at what was happening in intellectual life at the time. The first thing to consider is schools and book production, which are, at least in part, closely related.

BOOKS, SCHOOL AND INTELLECTUALS

Fewer manuscripts can be dated to the tenth and the early eleventh centuries than to the ninth century and the later eleventh;³ an oft-repeated fact which tells us nothing about intellectual life during the century. The boom in writing from the last years of the eighth century was a result of the huge cultural developments brought about by Charlemagne. The Carolingian renaissance largely ended Germanic oral tradition and popular culture, and created a need for a written culture based on manuscripts. But given the high cost of books, continued production was unnecessary once demand had been met. This, rather than

¹ See in general *Secolo di Ferro* (1991); *Lateinische Kultur* (1991); Jacobsen (1985); Hoffmann (1986).

² Baronius, *Annales ecclesiastici*, col 741. ³ Bozzolo and Ornato (1983), pp. 15–121.

cultural decline, explains the tenth-century fall in manuscript production,⁴ though there are some peripheral areas like Benevento and lesser Lombardy where there are more tenth- than ninth-century manuscripts.⁵ For the production of written texts to rise, writing must first become a more widespread practice. The numerous surviving charters clearly show that this was true in legal contexts; the tenth century can be accurately described as a period in which the production of documents enjoyed an unusual expansion.⁶

Studies of the surviving manuscripts of classical authors, the best examined field to date, also offer interesting insights into this problem. According to Ludwig Taube's famous remark, the tenth century is an *aetas Horatiana* by contrast with the Carolingian *aetas Vergiliana*;⁷ but Horace was not the only or the most important new author of the time. The Carolingians had preferred late classical Christian writers like Sedulius or Arator, as well as Virgil and the *Disticha Catonis*.⁸ In the late ninth century Remigius of Auxerre, a typical representative of the period, was also commenting on Juvenal and Persius, and in an early tenth-century Milanese codex (Paris, BN lat. 7900A), Martianus Capella's *De nuptiis Philologiae et Mercurii*, a good representative of the texts studied in the Carolingian schools, appeared alongside new authors such as Terence, Horace, Lucan and even Juvenal.⁹ Significantly, the codex is Milanese: Italy had been less influenced by the Carolingian school and was hence more ready to accept the work of authors who did not fit within the rigid scholastic codes of the past.¹⁰

During the tenth century the entry of other classical authors into the scholastic canon became easier and smoother. But there was also a change in educational theory and thus in the tools used by teachers. The curriculum still mainly consisted of the study of grammar, conceived of as the study of literature through poetry. Teaching followed a manual, the most important being that written in the fourth century by Donatus, whose *Ars minor* had been glossed by Remigius of Auxerre in a successful commentary. During the tenth century Donatus began to be accompanied, though not yet replaced, by the *Institutiones grammaticae* of Priscian as documented in Guadbert's *Epitoma Prisciani*. Other grammars dear to the Irish and Carolingian traditions, such as those of Pompeus, Consentius, Charisius and Diomedes, also began to fall into disuse.¹¹ Guadbert realised the continuing importance of Donatus and therefore used only the first sixteen books of Priscian (the *Priscianus maior*), and did not adven-

⁴ Munk Olsen (1991b), pp. 342–3.

⁵ V. Brown in Lowe (1980); Brown (1988); Cavallo (1991), pp. 760–1.

⁶ Toubert (1973a), pp. 303–5. ⁷ Traube (1911), p. 113.

⁸ Munk Olsen (1991b), p. 345; (1991a), pp. 28–32.

⁹ Munk Olsen (1991a), pp. 26–7; cf. Leonardi (1960), pp. 435–6.

¹⁰ Ferrari (1991), p. 108. See also more generally Bischoff (1984), pp. 171–94.

¹¹ Holtz (1991).

ture into the 'revolutionary' territory of books 17 and 18. The importance of the *Epitoma Prisciani* was clear: pedagogy was placed at a cross-roads, turning away from the heavy Carolingian overtones of its own French background and moving towards the Italian teaching tradition which it discusses. Guadbert was not an isolated figure; comments and glosses on Priscian were also produced by Israel the Grammarian¹² and Fromund of Tegernsee.¹³

The canon was not simply replaced by a new and equally inflexible system but altered to fit new needs. The study of grammar lost its Carolingian dominance, being joined by rhetoric (with texts from Cicero and the pseudo-Ciceronians) and dialectic (using material by Boethius Logicus).¹⁴ At the end of the century the exceptional but not unique school of Abbo of Fleury (940–1004)¹⁵ and Gerbert of Aurillac (940/50–1003)¹⁶ slowly added the *quadrivium* to the three subjects of the *trivium* and the study of the sciences was added to the study of literature. The Bible remained the supreme fount of knowledge and the focus of study for all the liberal arts, but the classical poets had largely lost their demonic associations: Jerome's view of the contrast between Christ and Cicero was now a thing of the past.

The schools were changing internally, but the main innovations took place in the face they presented to society. During the Carolingian period schools and intellectual life ran on parallel paths, and schools were equated with culture; even imperial culture under Charlemagne was conceived of as a school. Between the beginning of the tenth century and the beginning of the eleventh, change in this fundamental identity became ever more evident. Schools ceased to be totally identified with culture and began to take on a preparatory and introductory role which continued through the eleventh and the beginning of the twelfth centuries. Culture, in the strict sense of the word, may have originated in the schools but it lost its close relationship with them; and it was no longer in schools or in school-teaching that culture found its dynamic and creativity.

Typical of this situation were the anti-scholastic debates which seemed to go beyond the level of *topos* or *habit*. Rather of Verona, who had been trained in Flanders where great schools such as the episcopal school of Liège existed, had no hesitation in saying of himself, 'he learned little from his teachers, much more from himself'.¹⁷ This was not an unusual attitude to take; rather, it was symptomatic of many intellectuals of the time, from Liudprand of Cremona to Gerbert of Aurillac. The changes taking place also meant that men of culture began to feel the need for a library of their own, libraries that would

¹² Jeudy (1977). ¹³ Sporbeck (1991), pp. 369–78.

¹⁴ Van de Vyver (1929), pp. 425–52; Gibson (1991). ¹⁵ Mostert (1987).

¹⁶ Gasc (1986); Riché (1991); Lindgren (1991), pp. 291–303.

¹⁷ 'pauca a magistris, plura per se magis didicit': Rather of Verona, *Phrenesis* II, 70–1, p. 200.

exist alongside those of monasteries and bishoprics and alongside the great court libraries such as that of the new Ottonian emperors from Saxony.¹⁸ Manuscript collecting, characteristic of Italian humanists in the Trecento and Quattrocento, was also typical in this period, although the movement of learning was here the reverse, from the north into Italy.¹⁹ This is true of Rather,²⁰ and also of Gerbert, who wrote to Raynardus of Bobbio, 'You know with what care I seek copies of books everywhere. You know how many scribes can be found all over Italy in the towns and in the countryside.'²¹

Another important facet of the connection between intellectuals and schools was the writer's relationship to his text. The tradition that the author dictated, or had his work dictated, to a lay or professional scribe came to an end. Henceforth the author no longer merely checked the work of the scribe, which the head of the scriptorium continued to do, but became more directly involved in the text itself, writing or rewriting parts of it, making corrections and additions. In the 870s Anastasius the Librarian (800–79) had edited his own translation from the Greek of the Acts of the Fourth Council at Constantinople, adding extra materials,²² but this was an exceptional case: since very few knew Greek, the author alone was in a position to revise his translation. Almost a century and a half lies between Anastasius and Radulf Glaber (c. 990–1047), during which time the author's attitude to his text changed considerably: the manuscript Paris, BN lat. 10912,²³ shows how Radulf wrote and rewrote his text in different ways. Methods of composition and the intellectual traditions of this period show that, during the tenth century, cultural activity continued to take place in the schools and in courts, bishoprics and monasteries, but also that there was a sense that only individual study, of manuscripts or of various fields of learning, really counted.²⁴

Abelard and the other masters of the twelfth century have been seen as the precursors of the modern intellectual in that they were connected with and taught in a school. They were intellectuals whose job was 'thinking and passing on their ideas through teaching', a job which 'allied the development of ideas with the spread of ideas through teaching'.²⁵ It could be argued, however, that the forerunner of the modern intellectual was the tenth-century author; only during this century did knowledge come to be understood both as being a form of personal achievement and as having a social role. People were aware of the dialectical tension between the scholar's possessive attitude to his subject and

¹⁸ Mutherich (1986); Mayr-Harting (1991a and b); McKitterick (1993).

¹⁹ Ferrari (1991). ²⁰ E.g. Daniel (1973).

²¹ 'Nosti, quanto studio librorum exemplaria undique conquiram Nosti, quot scriptores in urbibus ac in agris Italiae passim habeantur', Gerbert of Aurillac, *ep.* 130, pp. 157–8.

²² Leonardi (1967). ²³ Garand (1983). ²⁴ Chiesa and Pinelli (1994); Chiesa (1994).

²⁵ Le Goff (1957), p. 1.

his intensely critical approach to it on the one hand, and the need to demonstrate publicly (both inside and outside the schools) the knowledge he had acquired on the other: Liudprand of Cremona, trained in Italy and active also in Germany at the Ottonian court, was one example of this new kind of scholar.²⁶

THE PERIPHERY OF EUROPE

The dissociation, even alienation, of intellectuals from the schools did not prevent cultural life from being concentrated in particular areas and cities: the historical and geographical context remains fundamental for our understanding of intellectual life in this period.

Spain, largely occupied by the Arabs, enjoyed an extraordinary blossoming of Arab art and culture; the developments in Latin literature were insignificant by comparison. Even taking into account the north of Spain, which had remained outside direct Arab control, Manuel Díaz y Díaz is right in saying that few texts showed any conscious literary content.²⁷ The Latin tradition continued in Córdoba, the capital of the caliphate during the tenth century. Towards the end of the ninth century Samson maintained the tradition as did Ciprianus and Leovigild later; the Córdoba Penitential was perhaps written here, as was a passion of the St Pelagius martyred in 925 (BHL 6617).

The output of Asturias and León was not much richer. Under Alfonso III (866–912), however, the court of León probably did produce the complex text known as the *Chronicle of Alfonso III*; this includes the *Chronica Visegotorum*, the *Chronicon Albedense* and the *Prophetic Chronicle*.²⁸ In Navarre under Sancho Garcés I (906–26), the monastery of S. Millán de la Cogolla flourished again; in 924 the monastery of S. Martino was founded at Albeda, in which Vigilanus and Sarracinus composed a set of verses. Little else was written, though towards the end of the century Lupito, who probably lived in Barcelona, produced a number of scientific texts referred to by Gerbert in his work on the astrolabe.²⁹

The situation in England, although very different, did have some features in common. As in Spain, intellectual life centred on royal courts and monasteries. King Alfred (871–99) had himself translated several Latin texts he deemed of value into the vernacular: Augustine, Orosius, Boethius, Gregory the Great, Bede's *Ecclesiastical History*. His translations were part of a plan to raise the cultural and social level of the Anglo-Saxon language, and the tenth century did indeed see a substantial rise in the production of vernacular manuscripts. But

²⁶ Vinay (1978a); Sutherland (1988); Staubach (1991). ²⁷ Díaz y Díaz (1991), p. 95.

²⁸ *Chroniques Asturiennes*, ed. Bonnaz and ed. Gil Fernandez; cf. Díaz y Díaz (1981); López Pereira (1991). ²⁹ Gerbert of Aurillac, *Liber de astrolabio*.

this cultural flowering could not have occurred outside the Latin tradition and it also acted as a stimulus to Latin authors.³⁰

The first significant work in Latin for fifty years was the biography of King Alfred by Asser (around 893) but nothing important was then produced until the reigns of Æthelstan (924–39) and especially of Edgar (959–75). In Æthelstan's reign there was a considerable growth in scribal activity, thanks mainly to increased document production, the import of manuscripts from the continent,³¹ and the arrival of non-Anglo-Saxon teachers such as Israel the Grammarian.³² In the years that followed, continental influence increased via links with Saint-Bertin, Ghent and especially Fleury. Frithegod worked in Canterbury under Archbishop Odo (941–58) on his *Breuiiloquium vitae beati Wilfredi*.³³ Two scholars of outstanding worth, Dunstan, who worked at Glastonbury,³⁴ and Æthelwold, who lived at court, but retired to Glastonbury on Edgar's death,³⁵ advanced to high office under Edgar: Dunstan became archbishop of Canterbury, Æthelwold abbot of Winchester (where Wulfstan later worked). Oswald, Odo's nephew, who had studied at Fleury, became bishop of Worcester and later archbishop of York; he also founded Ramsey, where Abbo of Fleury taught for a short time.³⁶

The Anglo-Saxon court supported a type of monastic reform which brought with it cultural activity of some distinction. Unlike Spain, which was rather isolated, Anglo-Saxon culture was influenced by the monastic reforms of continental Europe (led by Cluny and Gorze) as well as by the activities of Europe's flourishing centres of manuscript production.³⁷ Anglo-Saxon text production was mainly of hagiographies, generally though not invariably in verse: lives, translations, miracles (of Swithin, Edmund, Æthelwold and others) and also Æthelweard's *Chronicon*, a Latin translation of a recension of the *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle*.³⁸ At the end of the century Æthelwold's pupil Ælfric, who became abbot of Eynsham (955–1020), represented the highest pinnacle of Benedictine reform and Anglo-Saxon literature (his works include saints' lives and homilies). Ælfric also wrote in Latin prose and produced a number of important Latin saints' lives.³⁹

In Spain and England the tenth century was thus a period not of decadence but rather of renewed interest in study and intellectual activities. Following the Carolingian model, intellectual life revolved around a royal court and was supported by the activities of the Benedictine monasteries, a sign of a certain

³⁰ Lapidge (1991a). ³¹ Keynes (1985). ³² Lapidge (1992).

³³ Frithegod, *Breuiiloquium vitae beati Wilfredi*, ed. Campbell; cf. Lapidge (1988).

³⁴ Ramsay *et al.* (1992). ³⁵ Yorke (1988). ³⁶ Stafford (1989), pp. 187–91.

³⁷ Knowles (1963), pp. 31–56. ³⁸ Lapidge (1991b) Cf. also Æthelweard, *Chronicon*, ed. Campbell.

³⁹ Gatch (1977); Lapidge (1991a).

cultural lag on the periphery. It is impossible, however, to categorise the southern and eastern borders of Europe in this way.

In 881 Monte Cassino was destroyed and the monks who fled to Teano and then Capua were unable to regain the intellectual supremacy they had enjoyed since the end of the eighth century when Paul the Deacon had been one of their number.⁴⁰ But by the middle of the tenth century the abbey most closely connected with St Benedict had been completely rebuilt and intellectual life there had begun again. At the end of the ninth century in Capua Erchempert wrote his *Historia Langobardorum Beneventanorum*. In the second half of the tenth century in Salerno, an anonymous author wrote the *Chronicon Salernitanum*,⁴¹ and later Laurence of Cassino, who became archbishop of Amalfi in 1030, wrote sermons and hagiographies.⁴²

During this period the Latin-speaking scholarly world – most of southern Italy still spoke Greek, while Sicily was now occupied by Muslims – looked mainly to Naples and the unusual form of literary activity carried out there: translations from Greek into Latin. This work had started in the ninth century and the Neapolitan school continued until well into the second half of the tenth century. Its aim was to produce a Latin hagiographic corpus for southern European Christians incorporating existing religious traditions on the saints; as few of these existed in Latin, works were translated from the Greek. The school was innovatory: its members moved from the traditional theory of word for word towards sense for sense translation. Source texts might in consequence sometimes be partially rewritten to meet contemporary requirements, but the texts produced were generally of a literary quality far superior to that of any literal translation. There were numerous author-translators: John the Deacon, Guarimbotus, Peter the Subdeacon, Bonitus the Subdeacon and Cicinnius, all of whom wrote many saints' lives. John of Amalfi, a monk, translated other hagiographies in the later tenth century; the first Latin translation of a narrative that would later become very popular in the west, the story of Barlaam and Jehosaphat, also apparently comes from the Amalfi area. In Naples at this time Archpriest Leo translated the *Nativitas et victoria Alexandri magni regis* of Pseudo-Callisthenes, the basis of another important western series of narratives.⁴³

Although southern Italy was on the edges of the Latin world, it played an important role both by introducing certain aspects of Greek culture into Latin culture and by confirming the vital role played by historiography and hagiogra-

⁴⁰ Leonardi (1987).

⁴¹ Erchempert, *Historia Langobardorum Beneventanorum*, ed. Waitz; Westerbergh (1957); cf. Taviani-Carozzi (1991). For the *Chronicon Salernitanum* see below at n. 103.

⁴² *Laurentius monachus Casinensis archiepiscopus Amalfitanus opera*, ed. Newton.

⁴³ Chiesa (1991); Kratz (1991).

phy in the artistic self-expression of the time, as well as transmitting the narrative, fantastic themes of Barlaam–Jehosaphat and Alexander into western literature. These are two historical legends of enormous fascination: the story of Alexander the Great and his Asian empire and the legend of Barlaam, the Christianised Buddha. The narratives about ancient Rome and the Trojan War were already popular in the west but were felt to be linked with the roots of western civilisation. The new themes introduced by the writers in Naples and Amalfi represent the arrival of eastern themes in Latin culture.

The eastern borders of Europe were not yet part of the Latin world; these were missionary lands, dominated by the politico-religious interests of the Saxon rulers and the pope. It was not until the eleventh and twelfth centuries that Latin began to be used extensively here. One of the first texts produced was the *Deliberatio supra hymnum trium puerorum* by Gerard, an Italian martyred in 1046 and the first bishop of Csanád in Hungary.⁴⁴ The most important texts related to these countries are the two lives of Adalbert, bishop of Prague, martyred in Prussia in 997. The first life was probably written by John Canaparius (who died in 1004) but it has also been attributed to Radim, Adalbert's brother and to Gerbert of Aurillac. John Canaparius was monk and later abbot in the monastery on the Aventine in Rome where Adalbert had spent some time. His work revives several of the themes of ancient martyr literature, such as testimony to the faith in the face of political oppression; but these themes were now integrated into the missionary ones typical of the hagiography of the early and high middle ages.⁴⁵

The second life of Adalbert, written by Brun of Querfurt (974–1009), is of even greater importance. Brun was a chaplain at the court of Otto III but abandoned it to become a monk in the monastery on the Aventine. He later left the monastery for a hermit's life in Romagna as a disciple of Romuald of Ravenna. His desire for monastic perfection became fused with missionary zeal and eventually Brun followed in Adalbert's footsteps. In 1003 he met King Stephen I in Hungary and in 1008 he was in Kiev, under the protection of Grand Duke Vladimir I who had been instrumental in introducing Christianity to the Ukraine from Byzantium. Shortly before his death in 1009 – like Adalbert, he was martyred – Brun wrote Adalbert's biography. This was no mere revision of the first life but a completely new version with new facts and stories inspired by the missionary fervour they both shared. Brun also composed the *Vita quinque fratrum* of his spiritual master Benedict of Benevento, who, along with his companion John and three young Poles, had been killed

⁴⁴ Gerard of Csanád, *Deliberatio*, ed. Silagi.

⁴⁵ *Vita prior S. Adalberti Pragensis episcopi*, ed. Karwasinska; cf. Starnawski (1991), but also Kürbis (1991), p. 243.

while preaching in Poland.⁴⁶ This text is an even clearer example of a missionary hagiography of saints very recently dead. In this form of hagiography autobiography plays an important, and often clearly stated, part. Of the same *genre* but very different is the *Vita sancti Ondalrici* by Gerard of Augsburg.⁴⁷ This recalls the invasions of the Magyars, but the narrative is enriched by a number of different elements including miracles and visions.

TROPEs AND HAGIOGRAPHY

The intellectual centre of Europe still lay in France, Burgundy and Lotharingia, where Carolingian culture had developed most fully. But other areas were rapidly growing in importance, including the eastern areas of the old Carolingian territories as far as Saxony, while Bavaria and Italy, especially northern Italy, were becoming increasingly significant.

Many towns continued to maintain schools and be centres of learning; some Carolingian centres of excellence disappeared, to be replaced by new centres. Their rise and the weakened link between schools and culture meant that intellectual life now depended less on schools than previously. Even though tenth-century writings always show a local colouring, it was in this period that many literary genres finally took on a clearly defined individuality; new genres were also introduced. Writings began to be characteristic of their period rather than of their region.

Sequences and tropes are a typical new genre. According to Notker of St Gallen (c. 840–912),⁴⁸ texts and music not originally included in the canon of the liturgy began to appear at the end of the ninth century; certainly the St Gallen monk's liturgico-literary invention was extremely successful. It consisted of inserting a text into the *vocalise* which prolonged the singing of the Alleluia in the Mass preceding the Gospel lesson: this is the sequence (*sequentia*), also known as the *sequentia cum prosa* or *prosa*. Following a tradition which he claimed to have learned from a monk of Jumièges,⁴⁹ Notker regularised the relationship between music and words (one note to a syllable) while maintaining the autonomy of each. From this time on the genre underwent a great development.⁵⁰ A trope is also a text produced for the vocalisation within a liturgical text, but unlike the sequence it is not autonomous, since it also includes some of the words of the liturgy; it can thus be inserted in the singing at any point in the Mass. The earliest surviving tropers come from the tenth century; by then the genre had already developed a full range of expression,

⁴⁶ *Passio sancti Adalberti*, ed. Karwasinska; *Vita quinque fratrum*, ed. Karwasinska; Dunin-Wąsowicz (1972); Sansterre (1989). ⁴⁷ Gerhard, *Vita sancti Ondalrici episcopi Augustani*, ed. Kallfelz.

⁴⁸ von den Steinen (1948). ⁴⁹ *Ibid.*, pp. 154–5.

⁵⁰ von den Steinen (1946, 1947; 1967), pp. 115–50; Huglo (1987); Haug (1987).

reaching its climax in the eleventh century. There are various kinds of trope: the melogenous tropes of the *Alleluia*, which follow the liturgical text, logogenic tropes, which precede it, and meloformic tropes, which are interpolated into a pre-existing text.⁵¹

While this last kind died out before the end of the tenth century, the other two were further developed and, together with the sequence, undoubtedly greatly changed the liturgy experienced by the faithful in most of the monasteries and cathedrals of Europe. New texts and melodies introduced a previously unknown sense of solemnity to rites in the west. From St Gallen and, according to well-founded hypotheses, from the region between Rhine and Meuse (Mainz and Prüm), perhaps even from Lotharingia (Gorze), the genre spread to England (Winchester) and other areas of France – Autun, Limoges, Aquitaine – and even to Italy. In the tenth century one of the logogenous tropes was the famous trope dialogue between the angel who witnessed the resurrection of Christ and the disciples who ran to the sepulchre: ‘Whom seek ye in the tomb, o dwellers in Christ? – The Cross of Jesus Christ, o dwellers in heaven.’⁵² This eventually developed into the liturgical drama at the heart of the medieval theatrical revival. Sequences and tropes soon achieved literary and poetic maturity, partly because of the demand for them and partly because of the stimulus of public performance on their authors. This maturity can be appreciated in the dramatic trope written for one of the Masses of Christmas, the *Hodie cantandus* attributed to Tuotilo of St Gallen (d. 913), the only writer of tropes of the period whose name has come down to us.⁵³

Less connected with the liturgy were hymns, whose tradition goes back to St Ambrose.⁵⁴ There are several large ninth-century hymn collections, probably from St Gallen, Verona and Limoges. The habit of including older hymns in later hymnals continued through the tenth century as the Severinian hymnal, better known as the Umbro-Roman hymnal, shows.⁵⁵ Throughout this period the rhythmic line continued to alternate with the quantitative line, which it imitated freely until the year 1000, by which time greater control of the structure of the hymns had become more normal.⁵⁶

While the poetry of sequences, tropes and hymns is often of great depth and high quality, the tenth century offers the first verse masterpieces of medieval Latin literature. Between the middle of the tenth and the beginning of the eleventh centuries there was an outpouring of very significant prose and

⁵¹ See *Corpus Troporum* (1975–90), and also Jacobsson (1986), Silagi (1985), Leonardi and Menestò (1990), Arlt and Björkvall (1993).

⁵² ‘Quem quaeritis in sepulchro, o Christicolae? – Iesum Christum crucifixum, o coelicolae’ See Drumbl (1981); Davril (1986); Iversen (1987). ⁵³ Jacobsson (1991). ⁵⁴ Norberg (1954, 1988).

⁵⁵ *Hymnarius Severinianus*, ed. Dreves; cf. Norberg (1977), but also Leonardi (1981).

⁵⁶ Stella (1995).

poetry ranging in form from the instructive to the epic. One of the most common forms of writing was hagiographic poetry, often confused with historiographic poetry. When such a confusion occurs there is usually a 'geographic' transfer and the poem ceases to be classed according to where it was produced and is subsequently classed by its genre. As early as the beginning of the Carolingian era Alcuin had written a life of St Willibrord partly in verse and partly in prose, as well as the better-known *Versus de sanctis Euboricensis ecclesiae*.⁵⁷ Several typical Anglo-Saxon hagiographies of the tenth centuries written in verse and prose have already been mentioned, and continental European productions were not dissimilar. One of the main differences was that in many hagiographies, especially in those in prose, the hagiographical details accompanied and were often mixed in with historical details, because the stories frequently concerned people who had only recently died, about whom many facts were known that could not be omitted. These are hagiographies in which the transcendental component has become conventional, of less interest than the story of the protagonists and their monastery and/or bishopric. Contemporary hagiography inevitably tends to become historiography.

The famous Life of Count Gerard of Aurillac, who died in 909, written by Odo of Cluny around 925, can be considered the first hagiography of a layman, although the saintly model applied to Gerard is still basically monastic and hardly lay.⁵⁸ Hagiographies poured out of Cluny, from John of Salerno's hagiography of Odo in the middle of the century to Sirus of Abbot Maiolus at the end of the century.⁵⁹ In these monastic hagiographies it is easy to see an ideological element linked to the monastic reform movement associated with Cluny, based on moral rigour, on distancing oneself from the political world and creating a personal source of power, on prayer and on the celebration of the liturgy.⁶⁰ Other centres of monastic reform also produced hagiographies, the most significant being the *Vita Iohannis abbatis Gorziensis* attributed to John of Saint-Arnulf.⁶¹

There was also a significant reaction against the power of Cluny and its hagiographic writings, for example in Adalbero of Laon's *rhythmus satiricus*, an invective against Count Landri of Nevers. Adalbero, born towards the middle of the century, depicts the count, a member of Hugh Capet's court, as an insidious traitor. The twenty-eight Ambrosian stanzas of the poem throw a shadow over monastic life in Cluny at the time of Abbot Odilo and describe the monks

⁵⁷ I, Deng-Su (1983); Alcuin, *The Bishops, Kings and Saints of York*, ed. Godman.

⁵⁸ Odo of Cluny, *Vita Sancti Geraldi Aurilacensis comitis libri quatuor*, cf. Lotter (1983), Airlie (1992).

⁵⁹ Iogna-Prat (1988). ⁶⁰ Constable (1991).

⁶¹ John of St Arnulf, *Vita Iohannis abbatis Gorziensis*, cf. Barone (1991).

as warriors slaying their foes with the support of the pope. Anti-Roman satire had already begun.⁶²

We have already referred to a number of Anglo-Saxon hagiographies and to what might be termed 'missionary' writings from the eastern frontier of Christianity. Other works of equal importance, though perhaps of less importance for the development of the ideal of sanctity, were also being produced at this time: the Lives of two Saxon noblewomen: Queen Matilda, the wife of Henry I, who died in 968 and merited two biographies⁶³ and the Empress Adelaide, the widow of Otto I, who died in 999 and about whom Odilo of Cluny immediately composed his *Epitaphium*.⁶⁴

The most important characteristic of tenth- and eleventh-century hagiography is its obsession with 'territorial expansion'. Every Christian community seemed to want a written life of the saint that best represented it and with whom it could identify.⁶⁵ It was a phenomenon similar to, but different from, the cities' search for patron saints in previous centuries. People sought, perhaps unconsciously, not only for a protector but for a model of saintliness of some kind or other: monastic, episcopal, contemporary or ancient martyrs, a queen or a simple monk. Given the obvious crises of the political institutions of the time, which only towards the end of the century found any degree of order and peaceful government, and then only in a few areas of Europe, and given the crises facing the papacy and the clergy, the problems created by the invasions from beyond the borders, and above all the effects of social and political particularism, the blossoming of hagiography demonstrates the requirements of a number of attitudes which cannot simply be reduced to a need for political and social security. There was also a search for a different code of moral behaviour and greater spiritual awareness, a search which now looked for historical, even 'territorial' points of identification. The hagiographer therefore referred to saints and their real or supposed involvement with the history of a particular town or city to produce a story which was understandable within the context of that particular place or city.

This deep connection between contemporary life, place and model of saintliness can be seen in the antiphrastic utterances of Letald of Micy. Speaking of the miracles of St Maximinus, who lived in Micy during the sixth century, Letald declares, 'I am about to relate not things I have heard but things I have seen',⁶⁶ and of the *vita* of the early Christian Julian, bishop of Le Mans, Letald

⁶² Adalbero of Laon, *Carmen ad Robertum regem*, ed. Carozzi (for the other works see also the edition by Hückel); Brunhölzl (1992) pp. 268–74; cf. Oexle (1978).

⁶³ *Vita Mathildis reginae antiquior*, ed. Schütte; *Vita Mathildis reginae posterior*, ed. Schütte.

⁶⁴ Odilo of Cluny, *Epitaphium Adalbeidae imperatricis*, ed. Paulhart; Corbet (1986).

⁶⁵ Hofmann (1991); I, Deng-Su (1991).

⁶⁶ 'neque...audita sed quae vidi narraturus sum': Letald of Micy, *Liber miraculorum Sancti Maximini Miciacensis*, col. 813D.

writes: 'nothing pleases except what is true'.⁶⁷ In the tenth century a fantastic hagiography is consciously trying to become reality.

This is one of the reasons for the appearance of the specialist hagiographer. Some of these were authors of significance: Hucbald of Saint-Amand, whose most important work is the *Vita sancta Rictrudis*,⁶⁸ Adso of Montier-en-Der, who wrote a life of Clothilde among others;⁶⁹ Theoderic of Fleury (or Amorbach), who also produced a number of lives of Italian saints;⁷⁰ Folcuin and Heriger of Lobbes.⁷¹ Other authors, mainly anonymous, were active in many other centres, especially in the Frankish kingdom, Burgundy, and Germany, for example in Trier, where Sigehard added a book of miracles to the Life of Maximinus by Lupus of Ferrières.⁷² Ruotpert of Mettlach related the life and miracles of Adalbert of Egmont, but there were also many others.⁷³ Great scholars like Rather of Verona also produced hagiographies: he rewrote the *Vita sancti Usmari*,⁷⁴ while Ekkehard of St Gallen wrote the *Vita sanctae Wiboradae*.⁷⁵

One of the most important of these hagiographies, and a work of great literary merit, is the *Miracula sanctae Fidis* by Bernard of Angers, a student of Fulbert of Chartres.⁷⁶ After a pilgrimage to the tomb of the saint in Conques, Bernard decided to write about the miracles he had heard: cures, exorcisms, conversions, but also the resurrection of animals, the freeing of miscellaneous types of prisoner and the punishment and even death of pilgrims who failed to make promised votive offerings to the saint. The tales are told in a free-flowing prose style dominated not so much by linguistic affectation as by a real enjoyment of the narrative process and a dedication to the role of pilgrim extraordinary.

Verse hagiographies are a minor product of the genre, often more stylistically polished but more abstract than the prose versions. Apart from hymns and other short works, there are numerous true hagiographic poems that range from the *Vita sancti Romani* of Gerard of Saint-Médard⁷⁷ to the *Vita sancti Richarii* of Angilram of Saint-Riquier⁷⁸ and the *Vita et passio sancti Christophori* of Walther of Speyer.⁷⁹ The first and longest book of this work demonstrates the flexibility of this literary genre: Walther transforms his hagi-

⁶⁷ 'nihil placet nisi quod verum est': Letald of Micy, *Vita Sancti Iuliani*, col 782B; cf. Cremascoli (1991).

⁶⁸ I, Deng-Su (1990). ⁶⁹ Werner (1991). ⁷⁰ Poncelet (1908).

⁷¹ Dierkens (1983).

⁷² Lupus, *Vitae Maximini episcopi Trevirensis*, ed. B. Krusch, and Sigehard, *Miracula S. Maximini*; cf. Zender (1982). ⁷³ *Vita Adalberti diaconi Egmondiae*.

⁷⁴ Rather of Verona, *De Vita sancti Usmari*; cf. Golinelli (1991); but see also Dolbeau (1987).

⁷⁵ *Vitae sanctae Wiboradae*, ed. Berschin. ⁷⁶ *Liber miraculorum sanctae Fidis*, ed. Robertini.

⁷⁷ Gerard of Saint-Médard, *Vita Sancti Romani*, PL 138, cols 171–84.

⁷⁸ Angilram of St Riquier, *Vita sancti Richarii abbatis Centulensis*; cf. Manitius (1923), pp. 533–5.

⁷⁹ Walther of Speyer, *Libellus scolasticus*, ed. Strecker and ed. Vossen.

ography into an autobiography, speaking of his own training and life and not of those of his hero. This again demonstrates the literary need for hagiography in the tenth century; the hagiographic genre served to identify the writer with his subject.

THEATRE AND EPIC POETRY

Hrotsvitha of Gandersheim (c. 935–75), a nun, does not fit into the geographic classifications of hagiography. Connected with the Saxon court, she was perhaps the most famous and important of the women writing in the high middle ages, and was above all the first real ‘love poet’ of medieval Latin culture.⁸⁰ Her work can be divided into three groups: eight short hagiographic poems, two historical epics and six celebrated plays.⁸¹ Her hagiographies (all written in Leonine hexameters apart from *Gongolf*, in distichs) are not about local saints but include apocryphal poems (on Mary and the ascension of Christ) unconnected with any particular town or city. She also wrote the life of the Merovingian saint Gongolf and the Cordovan martyr Pelagius (d. 925), the lives of Theophilus and Basil of Cesarea, of Dionysius the Aeropagite and Agnes of Rome. The texts are remarkable in that good always triumphs over evil; even pacts with the Devil (as in the lives of Theophilus and Basil) cannot prevent the saint from achieving communion with God.

Hrotsvitha’s hagiography is optimistic. Sin is overcome, the Devil does not conquer, and pacts with him (the Faustian tradition in the west begins with Hrotsvitha) cannot damn the soul of the sinner; she remains immune to all these forces. God Himself would be a rather alien force if her own feminine condition had not revealed His merciful nature to her. The discovery was brought about through her writings on the Virgin Mary (the subject of the first poem taken from the Apocrypha) and Agnes. In both poems the author identifies with her heroine: Mary has made Hrotsvitha’s own choice and Agnes has turned her back on romantic love in favour of a different, but no less intense, form of love, that of the Heavenly Spouse, and in fact manages to persuade her partner to share in this new love. Hrotsvitha’s saints are often lovers (Agnes, and Proterio’s daughter in *Basilus*). Hrotsvitha’s hagiography is marked by an enthusiasm for story-telling and a sympathetic attitude to the human condition. She chose her own texts, put them into verse or wrote them herself (as apparently is the case with *Pelagius*) and devised her own narrative scheme based on the conflict between good and evil and the final triumph of good and God’s mercy.⁸²

⁸⁰ Vinay (1978b), p. 554.

⁸¹ Hrotsvitha, *Opera*; Vinay (1978b), pp. 483–554; Dronke (1984b).

⁸² Schütze-Pflugk (1972).

In her two epic poems, clearly written to commission, the final triumph of good is not so obvious. The *Gesta Ottonis* celebrates the life of Otto I, while the *Primordia coenobii Gandeshemensis* tells the history of her convent. The influence of her sources and of the events which had to be included is large. It is interesting, however, that the unifying force of the *Gesta* is not Otto himself but the government of the world through various people (including Otto, Adelaide, Berengar, Henry I and Liudolf) while in the *Primordia* the unifying force is the monastery. But these forces merely impose an external unity on the historical material and leave Hrotsvitha free to arrange the two poems into a series of tableaux and stories in which she can give her optimism free rein, allowing her once more to merge epic with hagiography.⁸³

Critics have identified her literary models as Virgil primarily, but also Prudentius (fourth century) and Sedulius (fifth century), both Christian poets of late antiquity. Her sources have also been identified quite easily as the Bible, hagiography and the liturgy. It has to be said, however, that Hrotsvitha takes a rather free approach to her sources, not in the sense that she ignores them but that she works through them to give her work her own stamp. This is also true of the work of Terence that she explicitly named as the source for her plays: 'for there are others, who stick to sacred writings, and yet although scorning other pagan writers frequently delight in Terence's fictions'.⁸⁴

The plays show even more clearly that her problem (both in life and art) was how to equate human love with the ideal of Christian perfection, how to describe the conflicts this produces and the solutions required. Her drama is not contemporary as it is in the historical poems. *Gallicanus* is set in two periods: that of the Emperors Constantine and Julian (fourth century); *Dulcitius* is set in the Diocletian period and *Calimachus* at the very beginning of the Christian era, in the Ephesus of John the Apostle. With *Abraham* and *Paphnutius* we move to the initial, glorious monastic era of the fourth century, while *Sapientia* is situated in Hadrian's Rome. Hrotsvitha not only sited her 'anti-Terentian' dramas in two different time frames, primitive Christianity and the fourth century, but also used two different historical backgrounds, the persecution and martyrdom of the Christians and the monastic life.

In the plays, even more than in her other works, history does not interest Hrotsvitha; she is entirely wrapped up in her existence as a nun. History has little significance in a nunnery and so is played down in her plays. She is interested in psycho-historical situations that could not have appeared in any drama of her time. In an attempt to resolve the conflict between passion and perfection, Hrotsvitha tried to reduce its immediacy by situating her plays in the

⁸³ Kirsch (1991).

⁸⁴ 'Sunt autem alii, sacris inhaerentes paginis, qui licet alia gentilium spernant, Terentii tamen fingmenta frequentius leccitant': *Praefatio*, ed. Homeyer, p. 233, ed. Winterfeld, p. 106 lines 3–6.

distant past. In *Calimachus* and *Abraham* she depicts women in search of love whose deep Christian faith and convictions mean that only God, the Heavenly Spouse, can offer the type of love they seek. As a woman with a true monastic vocation she exalts virginity and chastity and realises that death is often the price that must be paid for the love of this terrible God who demands such self-sacrifice from those who adore Him. Her plays usually end in martyrdom and often deal with terrible carnal temptation (Drusianus in *Calimachus*) or prostitution (Mary in *Abraham* and Thais in *Paphnutius*). This juxtaposition, at times mechanical and superficial, offers, however, a solution to the problem which was already visible in her earlier short hagiographic poems. A merciful God allows men, or rather Christians, who are prepared to accept self-destruction to find a peace and serenity unknown to man: man is kind to woman and the old hermit Abraham is finally able to express all his affection to his niece Mary.

Hrotsvitha's greatest literary achievement coincides with her finest intellectual intuition: monasticism no longer consists in ivory tower contemplation and aristocratic and imperial connections, but is open to mankind and focuses greater attention and love on man. Hrotsvitha perceives man as love, even though she is unable to show the love between man and woman openly. In some plays there is only a female protagonist because woman is the one true ally of God in the conversion of men, but in *Abraham* both man and woman with their delicate tenderness and affectionate outpourings are protagonists and the keyword of the drama is *pietas*, 'divine piety, which is greater than all created things'.⁸⁵ In this sense *Abraham* is Hrotsvitha's masterpiece.⁸⁶

The greatest of the epic poems written in the tenth century is *Waltharius*. But it was not the only epic poem produced. In the first half of the century an anonymous author in northern Italy wrote a panegyric on Berengar, which is principally a description of the struggles between Berengar and Wido of Spoleto. The *Gesta Berengarii*, composed in 1,090 rather elegant hexameters, has numerous hellenisms and many references to Virgil, Statius, Prudentius and Sedulius. Unusually, the author supplied his own glosses.⁸⁷ While the anonymous *Gesta* in its celebration of contemporary power is close in spirit to Hrotsvitha's *Gesta Ottonis*, her *Primordia* was perhaps the model for other poems celebrating monastic and episcopal life such as the *Gesta Witigowonis* of Burchard of the Reichenau.⁸⁸

Two epic poems of a different type each represented the beginnings of a real literary tradition. The *Gesta Apollonii*, possibly written in Tegernsee, tells the life and adventures of Apollonius of Tyre and is a reworking in hexameters of a

⁸⁵ 'superna pietas maior est omni creatura': *Abraham* VII, 10, ed. Homeyer, p. 316, ed. Winterfeld, p. 158, line 4. ⁸⁶ Vinay (1978b), pp. 532–53. ⁸⁷ *Gesta Berengarii imperatoris*, ed. Winterfeld.

⁸⁸ Purchard, *Gesta Witigowonis*, ed. Strecker; cf. Autenrieth (1985), pp. 101–6.

Latin prose story of the fifth century, in its turn a Christianisation of an old Greek text.⁸⁹ Even more successful were epics about the animal world, such as the *Ecbasis cuiusdam captivi per tropologiam*, the first epic of its kind in the middle ages. In classical times satirical writers from Aesop to Phaedrus had made animals the main characters in their fables. This tradition was taken up again – for example by Sedulius Scottus – in the Carolingian period and reached a high point in the eleventh century with the work of Adhémar of Chabannes (988–1034).⁹⁰ But until the *Ecbasis* no-one had produced a whole story about animals in a single narrative that was neither instructive nor satirical but epic; it is this epic structure, even though fragile and subtle, that holds the poem together. Consisting of 1229 Leonine hexameters, composed perhaps in Lotharinga towards the end of the tenth century, it is really two stories, one within the other. Although the meaning of the poem is enigmatic, its literary worth is undeniable. The anonymous writer of the only successful comedy written in the early middle ages gives us a series of well-described scenes portraying animals and characterising them figuratively and psychologically (with references to Horace).⁹¹

Waltharius (a poem of 1,453 hexameters) is poetry of a rather higher calibre.⁹² Its dating is still disputed, but opinion now tends towards the middle of the tenth century rather than the earlier dating to the first half of the ninth century. The revised dating also means that Ekkehard I of St Gallen (910–73), known to have been author of a *Vita Waltharii manufortis*, has now been put forward as its author.⁹³ Although Dieter Schaller has recently claimed that Ekkehard's authorship has not been proved beyond doubt,⁹⁴ the likelihood of the poem's having been written in St Gallen and therefore being attributable to Ekkehard has been strengthened by Schaller's own conclusions: there is no evidence for the existence of a *Waltharius* poem in the Carolingian period, while there are strong links between early eleventh-century Mainz and Ekkehard IV of St Gallen, who undoubtedly knew and reworked a *Vita Waltharii* written by Ekkehard I.⁹⁵

The theme of *Waltharius* is neither Christian nor classical – this is a story in the Germanic tradition. By the high middle ages the cultural heritage of the Germanic peoples had already become the subject of Latin literature, with masterpieces such as Bede's *Historia ecclesiastica* and Paul the Deacon's *Historia Langobardorum* telling the great tales. These were works of history and not epic

⁸⁹ *Gesta Apollonii*, ed. Dümmler and ed. Ermini.

⁹⁰ Adhémar of Chabannes, *Fabulae*, ed. Gatti and Bertini.

⁹¹ *Ecbasis cuiusdam captivi per tropologiam*, ed. Strecker; cf. Gompf (1973).

⁹² *Waltharius*, ed. Strecker; cf. Langosch (1973); Önnarfors (1988).

⁹³ Brunhölzl (1992), p. 63. ⁹⁴ Schaller (1991), p. 437.

⁹⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 436. Cf. also Werner (1990), pp. 101–23.

poems. In the Carolingian period the Germanic tradition had found a voice in *Karolus Magnus et Leo papa*; but *Waltharius* was something new and different: it was no longer a single poem but an entire story, that of Walther's flight and return to his homelands.

There was probably an oral Germanic version of the story in existence before the appearance of the Latin text but the theory that the Latin is a later version of a German text can now be excluded. What is clear, however, is that the Germanic tradition itself is the subject of the poem although the references to Virgil in the flight theme, in the description of the battles and in the sense of adventure which runs through the work are obviously important, as are the references to Prudentius. Hrotsvitha's optimism is also present in the poem, with a vein of Christianity tempering the Germanic tale. The main influence is Carolingian poetry with its occasionally rather laboured metric structure and somewhat creaky imagination. But from this structure Ekkehard (or the anonymous author from St Gallen) has created a broad poetic narrative that allows the Germanic epic to make a welcome entry into the Latin-Christian tradition. Walther is not on a great mission: this is the story of man who has reached maturity and full possession of all his powers returning home after many adventures to the woman he loves (Hildegund is a shadowy figure whose only real function is to represent a haven of security for the hero). It is the story of a man who is strong and heroic, but who shares the anxieties, the uncertainties of travel, the fear of the night, of the unknown and of the enemy with his friends/enemies, that is with other men. Walther seems almost overcome by the trials of life and the final battle and its uncertain outcome (because Walther knows that he may be the loser) are at the heart of the poem. Walther's best quality is not his strength but his desire for peace and light which – like Hrotsvitha's merciful *pietas* – runs through the work:

Behold, however things may turn out, here I shall lie
Until the revolving sphere brings back the longed-for light,
Lest the land should say 'That king, the proud king,
Has stolen a thief's flight through the shadows, as is his wont.'⁹⁶

Waltharius marks the beginning of the great Germanic epic tradition.⁹⁷

The tenth century produced another surprise. Far from St Gallen, in Micy in the Loire Valley, a monk named Letald (c. 945–96) wrote a short farcical epic

⁹⁶ En quocumque modo res pergant, hic recubabo,
Donec circuiens lumen spera reddat amatum,
Ne patriae fines dicat rex ille rex superbus
Evasisse fuga furis de more per umbras.
Waltharius, ed. Strecker, p. 71, lines 1151–4

⁹⁷ Von den Steinen (1952); Vinay (1978c); Dronke (1984a).

poem: a tragedy with a happy ending, but in this case the ending is a comic parody. In *Within piscator*, *Versus de quodam piscatore, quem ballena absorbit*, Letald tells how the Englishman Within (he who is within) one day goes fishing and ends up inside the belly of a whale. He tries desperately to escape but in vain, until he remembers that he has a knife and with this he keeps slashing at the whale's stomach, wounding it ever more gravely until finally, after several days imprisonment he reaches the heart and kills the fish, which beaches on the coast he set off from. The reference to Jonah in the Bible is obvious. The ending, however, bears no relation to the biblical story. The inhabitants of the village run down to the beach to see the whale and open it up and share out the meat. Within cries for help and is taken for the Devil. The villagers then organise a propitiatory procession and an exorcist, but in the end they recognise the fisherman and all ends happily.⁹⁸ In *Within* Letald gives us a pleasant, fantastical story that is almost a joke and which parodies both the high-minded ideological example of the biblical Jonah and the committed epic poetry about kings, queens and knights.

HISTORIOGRAPHY AND LITERATURE

Intellectual production during the whole century was notably historiographic. With its hagiography and its epic-historical and biographical poetry, the period is best characterised by its interest in contemporary and past events and its varied historiographic output. It is as if the enormous quantity of historiographical writing by often anonymous authors answered a need. This was no longer the need to rediscover a cultural past as the Carolingian era had rediscovered Latin and the works of the *auctores* and Christian writers, rather the need to rediscover the history of a people and to regain a lost sense of cultural awareness and responsibility. No other literary genre of the tenth century produced so many works as historical writing, from *Annales* to *chronica*, from *gesta* to biographies and autobiographies, a form which made its first medieval appearance in this period.

The *Annales* formula, ennobled during the Carolingian period by its pre-eminence in court literature, once more became the accepted form of memoirs, especially in the monasteries. Talented writers such as Flodoard of Rheims had no hesitation in calling their historiographies *Annales*. At least thirty annalistic works date from the tenth and beginning of the eleventh centuries: many come from eastern Europe, including Bavaria and Saxony, but several others were written in northern France, in the valleys of the Loire and the Rhine, and a few were produced in other places like Spain and Italy.⁹⁹

⁹⁸ Letald of Micy, *Within piscator*, ed. Bertini; cf. Bertini (1991).

⁹⁹ Hofmann (1991).

Flodoard's *Annales* follow the tradition of chronicling events year by year.¹⁰⁰ But he also innovates, and his chronicles are rich in details which show a design tending more towards the narrative than towards the documentary and an alternation of local news with news of more general interest. In Flodoard's writings, the annalistic genre, which continued to enjoy great popularity for a number of centuries, acquired several structural features which extended its meaning but also brought it to the brink of extinction.¹⁰¹

Apart from his work in continuing a great cultural tradition, Flodoard is also remembered for two other, equally innovative works: the *De triumphis Christi* and the *Historia Remensis ecclesiae*. The first is an apparently incomplete hagiographic epic poem, which recounts the exploits of the saints of Palestine, Antioch and Italy. The work sets out to be a legendary of the universal church and is innovative in its hagiographic scope because of its historico-geographic structure, which extends out from Palestine to the whole Christian world. Flodoard can be considered the historian and hagiographer *par excellence* of the period. Like many other writers of the time, he considers historiography and hagiography as the two components of historical conscience: history as a series of events and personages and history as sublimated in the *viri Dei*: human history and divine history that together lead to an understanding of the times.¹⁰² Flodoard's *Historia* also starts another tradition, or at least reinforces an existing one. He uses public and archival documents such as epigraphs, private charters and letters as a further basis for his historical narratives, following the model of Agnellus of Ravenna's *Liber pontificalis* and John Hymmonides' *Vita Gregorii* from the first and second half of the ninth century respectively.¹⁰³

The *chronica* genre also continued to be employed both in bishoprics and in monasteries, but its heyday came later in the eleventh century. Nevertheless, the tenth century also produced several great *chronica*: Widukind of Corvey's *Res gestae Saxonicae*, the story of the house of Saxony; Benedict of St Andrew by Monte Soracte's *Chronicon*, about Rome; and an anonymous south Italian writer's *Chronicon Salernitanum*. The last of these is a local chronicle of facts and extraordinary happenings.¹⁰⁴ Benedict describes Rome and its surroundings from a monastic point of view, which imposes a distance on events, as if seen from another form of reality.¹⁰⁵ Widukind, by contrast, is aware that he is telling a story about power; he has no illusions about the world he is describing and no time for the unreal.¹⁰⁶ All three chronicles share one feature, however:

¹⁰⁰ Flodoard, *Annales*, ed. Lauer. ¹⁰¹ Sot (1993).

¹⁰² Flodoard, *De triumphis Christi*; Jacobsen (1978).

¹⁰³ Flodoard, *Historia Remensis ecclesiae*, ed. Stratmann.

¹⁰⁴ *Chronicon Salernitanum*, ed. Westerbergh; Oldoni (1969).

¹⁰⁵ Benedict of Soracte, *Chronicon*, ed. Zuchetti; Oldoni (1991).

¹⁰⁶ Widukind, *Res gestae Saxonicae*, ed. Hirsch and Lohmann; Beumann (1950).

the historian identifies entirely with the place he is writing about (monastery, city or kingdom). In consequence universal chronicles, such as Regino of Prüm's *Chronica seu libellus de temporibus dominicae incarnationis* completed in 908,¹⁰⁷ are of little interest to him.

Two historians stand out: Richer of Rheims and Liudprand of Cremona. Richer, who had studied with Gerbert, was still alive at the end of the century. The heir to a great historiographic tradition, his conception of the art was completely different from Flodoard's. Richer's writings follow no chronological or any other apparent order, and seem determined only by his own opinion of the history of his time. In selecting the contemporary events to record in his *Historiae*, Richer makes no use of existing sources or judgements and shows his skill in using literature as a basis for his historiographical texts.¹⁰⁸

Richer was following in the footsteps of Liudprand (c. 920–72), one of the greatest strictly literary geniuses of the century, whose achievements dwarfed Richer's. Liudprand had studied and was perhaps born in Pavia, but he did not dedicate himself to a life of study. Instead, he made an early entry to Berengar II's court and later, controversially, left for the Saxon court of Otto I, who created him bishop of Cremona. He continued in the emperor's service, however, and in 967 went to Constantinople to request the hand of Theophanu for Otto II (having already been to Constantinople previously on a mission for Berengar).¹⁰⁹

Liudprand's historiographic works all have contemporary settings and often drift into autobiography: the *Antapodosis* or *Liber retributionis regum atque principum Europae*; the *Liber de rebus gestis Ottonis magni imperatoris*, and the *Relatio de legatione Constantinopolitana*.¹¹⁰ In the last two books the titles point to his role as Otto's counsellor and ambassador but he is also present in the first (and most famous) of the works. Liudprand's historiography abandons all pretence of objectivity, even the apparent objectivity of the various types of annal, chronicle and history which try to present a list of facts in an attempt to conceal the historiographic and ideological selections made. Liudprand conceals nothing and describes his facts with a crudity and immediacy unknown in Carolingian historiography. His stories do not only or even principally describe greatness and nobility of intent and action; they are more concerned with their brutality, unmasking foul intentions, dirty affairs and the vulgarity and obscenity of relations, including sexual relations, between men. If a Christian God exists in his writings, His actions are mechanical, so that Liudprand, of Lombard descent, seems to be reintroducing a primitive Germanic spirit into the literature of the period.

¹⁰⁷ Regino, *Chronicon*; Schleidgen (1977). ¹⁰⁸ Richer, *Historiae*; Kortüm (1985).

¹⁰⁹ Lintzel (1933); Sutherland (1988). ¹¹⁰ Liudprand, *Opera*; Chiesa (1994).

The unrivalled greatness of his historiographic writings stems from his despair at finding himself impotent in the face of events, and from his obstinate, furious reaction to events he has understood or believes he has understood. From the literary point of view, this gives an aggressive edge to his narrative, which increases the more as he manages to convey anger in his narrative-fictional interpretations of events which he has heard at third-hand and which may be either truth or fiction. Liudprand produced a number of unforgettable realistic portraits and tableaux. His view of history was anti-epic and he regularly de-epicised every event: epic in reverse. His portraits such as those of Nikephoros Phokas or of Marozia and Theodora, the libidinous debauchers of Rome, or of Berengar and Willa are justly famous. His portraits and tableaux are generated by an autobiographical style of writing, which contemplates the meaninglessness of history with its irrationality and earthly brutality and uses descriptions to expose this.¹¹¹

Other notable authors besides Liudprand were working in Italy in the Po valley in the tenth century. They included Atto of Vercelli, the author of a commentary on the *Epistles* of St Paul and especially of a *Polypticum quod appellatur perpendiculum*, an extremely obscure political treatise which is also a political satire and compendium of wisdom.¹¹² The Ottonians also imported teachers and codices from Italy (not only north Italy), often via Milan. Gunzo and Stephen of Novara were at Otto I's court at the same time as Liudprand,¹¹³ while the manuscripts from Otto III's library, still in Bamberg, include works by contemporary Italian authors such as Eugenius Vulgarius.¹¹⁴ Mainly from southern but also from northern Italy, the texts on Roman history were clearly used by the Ottonians to appropriate imperial ideology. Both John Philagathos, the bishop of Piacenza (later abbot of Nonantola) and John, the German bishop of Vercelli, played important roles in this ideological transfer.¹¹⁵

The cultural relations between Italy and Germany, two countries relatively little touched by Carolingian culture, cannot explain the quality of Liudprand's prose (which made use of *prosimetrum* in the *Antapodosis* and inserted poetry into the *Relatio*)¹¹⁶ or the prose of the other genius of the period, Rather of Verona (c. 890–974). Rather came from Flanders and was educated at Lobbes. Like Liudprand, he was an autodidact, although he had received an excellent scholastic education. He too was a bishop, of Verona, and was twice expelled from his see by clergy and politicians who disagreed with his policies, only to be later reinstated.¹¹⁷

Like Liudprand's, Rather's personality was bizarre and eccentric, and so

¹¹¹ Vinay (1978a), pp. 391–432.

¹¹² Atto of Vercelli, *Polypticum*, ed. Goetz; Wemple (1979).

¹¹³ Ferrari (1991), pp. 110–14.

¹¹⁴ Pittaluga (1991).

¹¹⁵ Ferrari (1991), pp. 110–14.

¹¹⁶ Jacobsen (1985); Scherbantini (1951).

¹¹⁷ Jacobsen (1989).

was his prose: it is like Liudprand's in being rich and full of rare words and apparently irregular constructions, but it is also very different and not strictly comparable. Liudprand narrates a story which happens to include his first-hand experience; Rather narrates himself, though he hides this behind moral or legal debates about the nature of hostility towards him. Liudprand recounts a story and its action; Rather is defeated by a problem he never explicitly admits, the difficulty of reaching truth and of making it reflect reality. As a result Rather is a lonely character and the consciousness of unbearable solitude is the thread running through all his works from *Praeloquia* to the *Qualitatis coniectura cuiusdam*, to *Phrenesis* and the letters.¹¹⁸

Recently the influence of the *Consolatio* of Boethius has been pointed out in the works of the older Rather and his junior Liudprand (especially the *Praeloquia* and *Antapodosis*) as the *Phrenesis* is written in a prosimetric structure like the *Consolatio* and the *De nuptiis* of Martianus Capella. It has been claimed that Rather, and later Liudprand, took Boethius' concept of seeking consolation within oneself for the antagonism of the powerful and used it as the model for radical satirical criticism of the moral and political condition of the time.¹¹⁹ This may define the literary genre to which they belonged but it can only offer a limited explanation of their literature and of the spiritual meaning they both gave to their lives and works.

In describing Rather's *Praeloquia* as a book in which 'whoever reads it will find many things while reading which can provide as much pleasure as profit to the minds of those reading',¹²⁰ Liudprand is speaking less of Rather than of himself; his own view of history finds a way to salvation in writing and narration, the means of achieving inner calm and taking pleasure in life. Rather, by contrast, cannot do this; in his work there is the consciousness of an absolute solitude which can be described but not resolved through writing, for the resolution of his predicament would have to come through an absolute truth he knows he can never express. As a result, Rather's despair gives rise to the first true form of 'autobiographical representation in the high middle ages'¹²¹ but it also leads to an absolute desire for existence beyond history, which history cannot satisfy. He expresses this desire through his hope and fear that history will end in the millennium, allowing him to escape from the cruelty and despair of history into true metahistory.

The period between the ninth and eleventh centuries was rich in many other forms of intellectual activity and saw the rise of many other literary forms, both old and new. But above all, the period was characterised by its sense of

¹¹⁸ Vinay (1989a, 1989b). ¹¹⁹ Staubach (1991).

¹²⁰ 'Quem si qui legerit, nonnullas ibi hac sub occasione res expolitas inveniet, quae legentium intellectibus non minus placere poterunt quam prodesse': Liudprand, *Antapodosis* III, 52, p. 101.

¹²¹ Vinay (1989a), p. 135.

historical awareness. Hagiography, biography and true historiography, in all their various forms, sprang from this basic realisation of the need to match oneself against history.

One of the greatest writers of the age, Gerbert of Aurillac (940/50–1003) was also one of the most aware of the period's historical context. While other writers contented themselves with descriptions of the past and/or the present, or invented the legends of men, such as saints, who were historical representations of perfection in God, and while Rather and Liudprand measured themselves against history and came away defeated after having merely touched it through their writings, Gerbert dominated and took control of history, determining its course. Gerbert too had known defeat, but not like Rather in Verona or Liudprand at the hands of Berengar. Gerbert was a victor and in him we have an extraordinary phenomenon: the intellectual who holds the reins of power, literature as power. While other great writers carried historiography to its greatest literary peaks, Gerbert plunged it into the world of politics.

Gerbert was born in the Auvergne and became a monk in Aurillac. He studied in Catalonia, where he came into contact with Arab learning, and Pope John XIII called him to Rome where he met Otto I. He left Rome for Rheims to become director of its school. In 981 he was back in Rome and in Pavia Otto II created him abbot of Nonantola. He won a famous disputation with Otric of Magdeburg before the emperor in Ravenna, but Otto II died in 983 and Gerbert returned to Rheims. On the death of Archbishop Adalbero in 989 he succeeded to the see, but his title was not confirmed by the pope. He therefore left Rheims for the court of the Saxon emperors and became tutor, but mainly counsellor, to Otto III, who was still a minor. Otto had him enthroned as archbishop of Ravenna and in 999 as pope. Gerbert, the first French pope, assumed the name of Sylvester II and enjoyed a relationship with Otto III similar to Sylvester I's with Constantine: that of the greatest ecclesiastical and temporal powers in the western world working together in close harmony.¹²²

Gerbert was no historiographer, but both a political intellectual and a great writer. His work shows how far Carolingian culture had now been left behind. He was a master of the arts of the *trivium* and his travels to Italy were partly made in order to find the works and stimuli needed to complete his training in logic, as he was not satisfied with the few Ciceronian references in Carolingian rhetoric and dialectic. His extraordinary scientific, technical and practical work reinjected arts of the *quadrivium* from Spain into the general culture of the time. France had been the centre of Carolingian culture but Gerbert makes it clear that innovation now comes from outside France, from the Arabs and from the traditions still maintained in Italy.

¹²² Gerbert of Aurillac, *Opera*; *Opera mathematica*, ed. Bubnov; *Epistolae*, ed. Weigle; Gerberto (1985).

In his letters Gerbert's successful prose style is consciously modelled on that of the ancient *auctores* and is careful and controlled but effortless, far from the linguistic contortions of Rather and Liudprand, for all their literary effectiveness. He is immersed in writing and culture, 'in study and politics we teach what we know and learn what we do not know',¹²³ though in politics as well, as the sentence just quoted makes clear. Not surprisingly, Gerbert was believed to have made a pact with the Devil: his successful and glorious career could only have been achieved with Lucifer's aid.¹²⁴ Nor is it surprising that his vision of God has much in common with Boethius, perhaps his most influential model. For Gerbert, God is total intelligence and perfect understanding of the world because the world can be controlled by the intellect.¹²⁵ In this respect Gerbert's views are diametrically opposed to those of Rather. Both are ill-at-ease with the theory of the perfect unity of truth and history, but while Rather considers it impossible, Gerbert believes the intellect could grasp the concept and use it.

THE MILLENNIUM

The most striking feature of the era is the eschatology provoked by the imminent arrival of the millennium: history must be told and should be understood and directed but it can also come to an end. The great intellectual and spiritual inheritance of the time is the understanding that history may have no future but, in so far as it exists, is a function of the future. Beatus of Liébana, Ambrosius Autpert and Aimo of Auxerre between the eighth and the end of the ninth centuries had all interpreted the Apocalypse of John the Apostle as a message to the individual, free of any historical context. In the tenth century a different interpretation of the book produced a fear of the millennium and the possible end to history that might accompany it.

It was one of Gerbert's friends, Adso of Montier-en-Der (910/15–992) who reintroduced the eschatological reading of the Apocalypse. In his widely read *Epistola de ortu et tempore Antichristi* dedicated to Gerberga, Otto I's sister, Adso describes the Antichrist as a person, the son of Satan, who at the end of the millennium is freed from his chains and brings history to an end. Adso voiced a common tension: the fear of, but also the longing for, an end to history.¹²⁶

Through Augustine, and in particular his *De civitate Dei*, the west perceived history as a single process produced by the war between God and the Devil, and understood the one thousand of the Apocalypse to mean the historical millennium. The end of the world was perceived as a historical event following

¹²³ 'in otio, in negotio, et docemus, quod scimus, et addiscimus, quod nescimus': Gerbert, *ep.* 4, p. 73.

¹²⁴ Oldoni (1977, 1980, 1983). ¹²⁵ Riché (1991), p. 421.

¹²⁶ Adso of Montier-en-Der, *Epistola ad Gerbergam reginam de ortu et tempore Antichristi*, ed. Verhelst; Konrad (1964).

a last battle in Jerusalem between the Christ and the Antichrist. This possibly is why Adso, already very advanced in age, took ship for the east in 992, dying at sea after five days. The desire to see the end of history was also a desire to see the final outcome of the last battle and the ultimate victory of Christ for all men.

The great legacy of the time is its view of the future. This formed the basis for thinking in the west for many centuries to come: not only the expectation of the end but also the knowledge that Christian perfection is to be found within history. In this sense the works of Gerbert and Adso are both parallel and convergent.

ARTISTS AND PATRONS

Henry Mayr-Harting

ARCHITECTURE

The architectural world of the tenth and eleventh centuries is not easy to recover either from what is now to be seen or from the literary sources. First, although we have the literary and archaeological evidence for Ottonian royal palace complexes such as those in Magdeburg or Ravenna, our evidence is predominantly that of churches. And second, as to churches, we see some remarkable experimentation in what has survived, but the literary texts, our only evidence for so much that has been destroyed or rebuilt, tend to present building by abbots and bishops in its traditionalist aspects. Often we have to work from analogies. The church of Romainmôtier in modern Switzerland is probably our best chance of seeing what the second church of Cluny looked like, and Nivelles, where around 1000 a cousin of Otto III called Adelaide was abbess, and where the church has a transept at each end of the nave, is likely to reflect the appearance of Bishop Notker's (972–1008) cathedral at Liège.

One church of novel character which can still be seen is that of St Martin de Canigou, dating from the earliest years of the eleventh century, and built under the patronage of Count Wifred of Cerdàña. The Pyrenees, as Puig y Cadafalch long ago showed, was an important region for the early development of Romanesque styles. It would be a great mistake to regard this region as out of the way, despite the impression of remoteness the monastery of Canigou now gives, standing on a magnificent spur of the mountain of that name, and commanding staggering views upwards from its cloister. For it was close to the great route which linked Spain and the Mediterranean to the heart of rich and productive Lotharingia via the rivers Meuse, Saône and Rhône. Canigou is a traditional, 'first Romanesque' church in its use of small, unsmoothed stones and its triple-apse plan, but its remarkably slender pillars support a daring barrel vault over the nave.

However, the chief object of this discussion is not to engage in an analysis of stylistic development, but rather to ask how the ecclesiastical architecture of

the period is related to what went on inside the churches. Carolingian monasticism, with its interest in Roman and eastern chants, was already more liturgised than the Rule of St Benedict had envisaged, and tenth-century monasticism, whether we consider the so-called Gorze Reform, Cluny and Fleury, or the English Benedictine revival, heightened this tendency. We know one of the *raisons d'être* of the various tribuness, the west work and the separated areas of Agilbert's church of Charles the Great's time at Saint-Ricquier, for it is clear from his Ritual Order. It was to enable choirs of monks and boys, separated from each other, to answer each other antiphonally across the church with impressive echoes, rather as the various tribuness of the dome of St Mark's, Venice, were intended to echo with the trumpets of Gabrieli's music. One cannot understand Carolingian churches, for all the importance of saints' shrines and relics in their lay-out which has been rightly stressed, without recreating for oneself the sounds which they were intended to contain. It is quite as much so with the churches of the succeeding age. The musical stave was only invented in the eleventh century, and it is clear that choirs of monks, nuns and canons were still in the ninth and tenth centuries expected to know their musical notes by heart, and the neums which positively sprouted in the chant books of this age are considered to represent the movements of a conductor's hand, as well as reminding the choir of melody, and indicating rhythm and ornamentation. An inspired precentor must have been able to elicit dramatic effects from his schola cantorum. We know that Liège was famous for its chants under Bishop Stephen (903–20), that it was an experience to hear the chants on Christmas night in Trier Cathedral or in the open air at Augsburg on Palm Sunday, that hymnals spread far and wide from the abbey of St Gallen (the Solesmes of the day), and that a spate of Marian anthems began to be composed at Reichenau at the latest in the early eleventh century which apparently gave us among others the *Salve Regina*. The tenth-century English show a near craze for building organs, whose main function must have been to accompany the chants; the evidence is mostly English, but one may doubt whether the phenomenon itself was so confined.

One notable musical composer was Odo of Cluny. While he was abbot of Cluny (926–44) he was approached by the monks of his former monastery of Tours to write some longer antiphons for Saint-Martin than those they had, whose length might relieve them 'of the monotony of repeating these very short ones'. He praised the brevity of their antiphons and expressed disgust at the prolixity they demanded; they warned him that he would displease Saint-Martin if he refused and that his excuse signified a hidden pride. Odo gave way and composed antiphons 'in which the meaning and sound agreed so well, that it seemed that nothing could be added or taken away from the sense, nothing found more sweet in the modulations of the melody'. His biographer adds that

they were retained to that day in Benevento, not an uninteresting observation, since it shows the power of music to unite a politically fragmented world, as between Liège and St Gallen, Tours or Cluny and Benevento.¹ There is much evidence for the interest in musical theory at this time, derived above all from the writings of Boethius, and Odo is part of it, but this story shows that he was no mere musicologist.

We have unfortunately little hard evidence of how the various parts of a tenth-century church were exploited musically, though that does not invalidate hypotheses drawn from the nature of the architecture itself, but there is a suggestive story from amongst the tenth-century miracle narratives of St Faith at Conques about the cure of a blind man called Gerbert. In the night of the vigil of the feast of St Michael, St Faith appeared to this man in a dream and told him to join the procession of monks to the altar of St Michael the following day after Vespers where God would restore his sight. And so it was done. Gerbert accompanied the monks' procession to the oratory of St Michael, where, while they sang the antiphon in honour of the coming festival, the heavenly artifex or creator enabled him to see.² From the account it is clear that we are dealing with a kind of Westwerk, whether of the tenth century or the ninth we cannot tell, of which the oratory of St Michael constituted the third level, above a solarium which was itself supported by a vaulted structure on the ground floor. It is not clear, therefore, if the oratory gave onto the church as a second level must have done, but it is quite likely, since we also learn from the account that above the oratory was yet a fourth level with bell-tower (all this of course disappeared in the great rebuilding of the eleventh and twelfth centuries). The important point for our purposes, however, is the use of the high galleries for music.

A church of striking originality for its galleries along the length of the nave at triforium level is Gernrode in the heartlands of tenth-century Saxon rule. Close to the royal nunnery of Quedlinburg with its staggering views across to the Harz Mountains, Gernrode was founded as a nunnery in 961 by Margrave Gero, one of the great military commanders of Otto I on his eastern frontier with the Slavs. Having lost his son Siegfried in the Slav wars, Gero founded here a house of canonesses with his widowed daughter-in-law, Hathui, as their abbess. Hans Jantzen, in his brilliant analyses of the aesthetic of Ottonian churches, wrote of the strong rhythmical counterpoint between the arches of this triforium and the great openings of the nave arcade underneath it, and he developed the pleasant conceit that the austere and noncommittal exterior of the building, in contrast to its lively and solemn interior, was just like the taci-

¹ John of Salerno, *Vita S Odonis abbatis Cluniacensis*, c. 10, col. 48C.

² *Liber miraculorum sanctae Fidis* II, 1, pp. 91–2; see Lehmann-Brockhaus (1955), pp. 27–8.

turnity of its founder himself as described by Widukind.³ Be that as it may, one cannot look at these remarkable galleries without supposing that the nuns, whose understanding of their liturgy was so little staid and conventional that soon after the foundation of Gernrode they gave us our first known commentary on the psalms in the Old Saxon vernacular, would not sometimes have tested their musical possibilities. Anyone who has tested the acoustics of the west work in Archbishop Brun of Cologne's (953–65) great church of St Pantaleon will know that the cool well of space contained within the solemn rythms of its arcaded galleries must provide a veritable echo chamber for a choir of monks or boys. Here is another church whose building was initiated by a patron close to Otto I, in this case his brother. The building at St Pantaleon was continued in a later campaign apparently stimulated by the Empress Theophanu, wife of Otto II, around 984, from which period some exceptional fine stone sculptures have been discovered, including a head of Christ and angel reliefs, which probably adorned the west facade.⁴ The nave of Bishop Bernward of Hildesheim's (993–1022) great early eleventh-century church for the monastery of St Michael, Hildesheim, has no galleries in the nave, but the galleries at two levels in the transepts, together with the majestic vistas of the interior and arrangement of external towers, must have contributed to the designation of this church by contemporaries as a *templum angelicum*.

This was a very angel conscious society, as one sees from the often domineering postures of angels when they appear in art and literature. Whether the monks and nuns of whom we have been writing always wanted to live like angels may be doubted, but when one looks at their architecture there is a stronger case for thinking that they sometimes wanted to sound like angels.

The liturgical efflorescence of the tenth century partly found expression in small dramas, which were now for the first time fitted into the structure of the monastic liturgy, and of which the best known was that of the Three Women at the Tomb, performed on Easter morning. A monk clad in white was to represent the angel at the tomb, and three monks, vested in copes and holding thuribles, were to approach it 'step by step as if looking for something'. At the appropriate moment the angel was to begin singing softly and sweetly the words 'quem quaeritis' (whom do you seek). The stage instructions for this drama are contained in the English *Regularis concordia* of c. 970, while the musical score is in the Winchester Troper (Bodleian Library, Oxford).⁵ The music perhaps came immediately from Corbie, whence Bishop Æthelwold derived his singing-master for Winchester. It has been plausibly argued that replicas of Christ's Tomb, as shown to pilgrims in Jerusalem, may well have

³ Jantzen (1947), pp. 11–14; Widukind, *Res gestae Saxonicae* II, 20 and III, 54, pp. 84, 133.

⁴ Brandt and Eggebrecht (1993b), pp. 221–4.

⁵ *Regularis concordia*, c. 51; Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS 775, fol. 17r.

been connected to these dramas. Bishop Conrad of Constance, for instance, who died in 975 and who had three times visited Jerusalem, had 'a sepulchre of the Lord similar to that at Jerusalem' made for the church of Saint-Maurice in his city and adorned with fine goldwork.⁶

A feature of early medieval churches which was of great importance but which is difficult to recover from the surviving evidence was wall-painting. Wall-paintings depicting the main scenes of Christ's life must have been common in Carolingian churches, where they were used to instruct the illiterate, and some remarkable schemes of wall-painting survive from more educated contexts in the Carolingian period, such as Auxerre, Müstair, Mals and Brescia, while we know of others, notably at the royal palace of Ingelheim and the monastery of St Gallen, from written sources. We know extraordinarily little about how wall-paintings were related to pictures in manuscripts, or for that matter to each other, at this period. One might be tempted to wonder whether wall-painting would not have been a vast store of iconography now lost to us, and whether it is not as likely that wall-paintings were primary models for book-illuminations rather than the other way round. Final pronouncements seem impossible on these issues, but it has been shown that in the case of tenth/eleventh-century wall-paintings at Saint-Julien of Tours the models were ninth-century Turonian book-illustrations, while very few of the scenes in the large St Gallen Christ cycle of the ninth century are not also found in Ottonian books, presumably use being made in each case of similar late antique sources which, practically speaking, could only have been available in book form. Gauzlin, abbot of Fleury, of whom more will be said later, obtained a painter from Tours called Odelric to paint the walls of his church with scenes from the life of St Peter and the Apocalypse.⁷ It is hard to see how their model would not have been books, for there was a rich iconography of the Apocalypse in Carolingian books, and the St Peter scenes could have been taken from an illustrated Arator or some such book of illustrated lives of the Apostles as Bede had earlier seen. Indeed from the ninth century onwards there was a brisk business in hagiographic illustration both on walls and in books, with many of the scenes easily adaptable from one saint to another. That scenes could have been taken from books and put on walls does not prove that they were, but it is not easy to cede the primacy to wall-paintings in these circumstances.

One especially interesting patron of wall-paintings in the tenth century was Bishop Gebhard of Constance (980–96), in his *Eigenkirche*, the monastery of Petershausen. This bishop had the walls of the church covered with pictures, on the left hand side with Old Testament subjects, on the right with New

⁶ Oudalschalk, *Vita Chounradi episcopi Constantiensis*, cc. 7, 11.

⁷ Andrew of Fleury, *Vita Gauzlini abbatis Floriacensis monasterii*, cc. 62–4.

Testament. The idea of such sacred parallels was of course an old one, being found in late antique manuscripts of the New Testament, in the painted wooden boards which Benedict Biscop acquired for his monastery of Wearmouth/Jarrow, later in the bronze doors of Bishop Bernward of Hildesheim, and in revived form in Byzantium after the Iconoclastic Controversy with their *Sacra Parallela*. So far, then, the bishop in his murals was being no more than a professional teacher of his flock. More notable was the fact that whenever the image of Christ appeared His image was gilded. The liberal use of gold was an important adjunct of episcopal majesty in this period; almost all reproductions fail to bring out the way the Benedictional of Æthelwold of Winchester shimmers with gold. But most remarkable of all was Gebhard's abundant use of 'the Greek colour', lapis lazuli, for the colouring of his walls.⁸ This was acquired from the Venetians. It has a double significance. It showed to his people the far-reaching access of their bishop to luxury goods, probably at a time when the Ottonians had trade agreements with the Venetians before the initiative in Venice passed to the Byzantines with Basil II in 992; and, as a brilliant blue, the colour which in scriptural exegesis always signified heaven itself, it was an alternative way to tribunes and galleries of conveying the idea that a church was a piece of heavenly space.

PRECIOUS OBJECTS

There was a time when all the arts such as those in gold and silver, enamel, ivory or embroidery, were known in English parlance as 'the minor arts', by comparison with art in manuscripts, or with painting generally; but happily that time has passed, and Peter Lasko's volume of 1971 in the Penguin History of Art, covering the period 800–1200 and dealing (admirably) with these arts, was entitled *Ars Sacra*, i.e. sacred art. There is a sad reflection even in that title of the loss of a whole non-ecclesiastical artistic world. For instance we think of ivories as covers for liturgical books, or perhaps as pyxes or holy water buckets, because that is how they have mainly survived. So the following gloss on 'ivory' in a late tenth- or early eleventh-century manuscript of Prudentius' *Psychomachia* at Cologne may take us aback: 'ivory', it reads, 'is elephant bone with which the handle of a sword is ornamented'.⁹ Such glosses sometimes reflect only the old books from which they derive, but the comments in this book are in general far removed from the mere mindless repetition of antique flotsam and jetsam. We are familiar with the art of the goldsmith in various ecclesiastical forms, but it is refreshing to read that when Otto I wanted to reward the warrior grandfather of the bishop and chronicler Thietmar of

⁸ Cames (1966), p. 17.

⁹ Cologne, Dombibliothek, MS 81, fol 73r.

Merseburg for making peace between himself and the archbishop of Magdeburg, he gave him a golden collar which he wore with pride, to the joy of his friends and the sadness of his enemies.¹⁰ Would that we could hire a time machine for a group of art historians to go and study this collar while Count Henry of Stade was wearing it at a feast! Perhaps they would find that it had repoussé, foliated scrolls, inhabited by birds and beasts, like the rare but purely ceremonial Ottonian sword sheath at Essen.

Certain as it is that many finely ornamented books of our period have disappeared, the losses in the ecclesiastical world of the *ars sacra*, not to speak of the secular equivalent, must have been far greater. C. R. Dodwell has brilliantly evoked this lost world, and the idea of it as such, in his book on *Anglo-Saxon Art*. What he has done for England with the help of literary sources – and one could use the same method for the continent – can in a way be achieved through a short cut by using Bernhard Bischoff's edition of early medieval treasure-lists for the empire.¹¹ Here a breath-taking world of bygone book covers, reliquaries, chalices, crosses, candlesticks, thuribles, altar frontals, fine linens and embroidered vestments meets our gaze, and speaks eloquently of the marriage of art and ceremony, of the marriage between the monastic or canonic life and high liturgical culture, in our period. These lists were drawn up to commemorate the munificence of a benefactor to a church or to record the valuables in its treasury or sacristy at the moment when a new custodian or provost took office.

Did they fantasise, imagining treasures sometimes on a Beowulfian scale which never in fact existed? Occasionally some part of a treasury survives, as at Hildesheim with the wonderful artefacts of Bishop Bernward (993–1022), including two famous silver candlesticks inscribed with his name, or at Conques in the Massif Centrale of France, where spectacular reliquaries and other objects have been jealously guarded by the local community down the ages. Such survivals, and the resplendent book covers which have come down to us, show that we need not think of these lists as fantasies. But what I wish particularly to consider is the Ottonian treasure at Essen. Essen was a royal nunnery and from the time of its Abbess Matilda (971–1011), grand-daughter of Otto I, there survive in the first place three splendid golden processional crosses set with all manner of precious gems and first-rate enamels. They are likely to be Cologne work. The gold figure of Christ crucified in the most famous of these has something of the feeling of the limewood Gero crucifix (probably 969–76) in Cologne cathedral, and the best cut stones, two amethysts of different shades and a garnet, are reserved for the cross in his nimbus. At its base is an exquisite enamel, depicting Abbess Matilda and her brother Otto,

¹⁰ Thietmar, *Chronicon* II, 29, p. 78.

¹¹ Bischoff (1967b).

duke of Suabia, ceremonially presenting the cross itself to the abbey. Another similar cross has at its foot a small enamel of Matilda, dressed now in pure white and kneeling at the feet of a hierarchically seated Virgin Mary and Child. Among the precious stones in this cross are a sardonyx engraved with a fisherman, an antique cameo with female bust, and an amber carving of a lion at rest immediately under the feet of Christ. The third processional cross, from the same period, has particularly profuse filigree work and enamels of the crucifixion scene and the evangelical symbols.

What are these crosses actually about? First of all they are about religious ritual and symbolism; manuscript illustrations of the time showing ecclesiastical ceremonies are full of processional crosses. A nice example of symbolism is the amber lion, for the *Physiologus* saw the lion, which supposedly slept with its eyes open, as typifying Christ crucified, asleep so to speak in his humanity but wakeful in his divinity.¹² The crosses are, however, just as much about the authority of the abbess. Matilda was a Liudolfing, but we may be sure that under her were many other high-born nuns, and we know from the documented experiences of St Radegund and St Leoba how searchingly the authority of an abbess (as of an abbot) could be put to the test in the early middle ages. Unexpectedly small as the enamels of Matilda are, once the eye has caught them, they both make an impact at a distance of as much as twenty feet. The Matilda/Otto cross must fall more or less within the first decade of Matilda's forty-year period of office, since Duke Otto died in 982, in other words during her least secure time, before she could draw on that natural respect accorded in the tenth century to long life (one need only consider the analogy of Otto I's reign and the chronology of rebellions against him). We know that tenth-century nuns could be hard-bitten people, and whether a few small enamels by themselves could cause many of them to quake at the knees when they beheld their abbess may be doubted. The important consideration, however, is what effect this kind of art could have had on the self-confidence of the actual persons who ruled, on their sense of the canonisation of their own authority. Moreover, countless medieval hagiographies and histories of religious houses show us the importance of architectural beautification and material enrichment for sustaining the authority of an ecclesiastic, and Matilda herself embarked also on a new campaign of building at Essen which produced another interesting west work of which a partial impression can still be obtained. In that west work stands now a remarkable and huge bronze candelabrum of seven branches with great ornamental knops, while the famous free-standing gilded Madonna and Child can be seen in another part of the church, both of them from Matilda's time.

¹² See Wessel (1966), p. 27.

There are other fine objects in the Essen treasury from the later period of Abbess Theophanu (1039–58), grand-daughter of the empress of that name. One other work from Matilda's time, however, should not pass without comment, namely the dazzling gold and jewelled crown, edged with continuous rows of pearls, which may reasonably though not certainly be associated with her young cousin, Otto III. Here a large red stone is engraved with a crowned head, while below the fleur-de-lys-type cross which one supposes represented the front of the crown, in a raised golden setting, is a huge sapphire. In the famous representation of Otto III in the Aachen Gospels, the veil or scroll held by the evangelist symbols not only 'clothes the heart' of the emperor with the Gospels, but also in some way distinguishes a heavenly sphere of God-given rule from an earthly; in another way this symbol of the heavenly sphere (as a sapphire was always taken to be), placed so prominently on this crown, seems to make the same point.¹³

The greatest of all goldsmiths' workshops in our period were those of Archbishop Egbert of Trier (977–93), which carried out commissions for other churches, such as the golden book cover (still surviving in Nuremberg) which the Empress Theophanu ordered for the monastery of Echternach, or the enamelling with which they adorned a golden cross from Rheims (as is evidenced by a letter of Gerbert of Aurillac).¹⁴ We know from the work of Hiltrud Westermann-Angerhausen that Egbert did not bring these workshops into being, for they were in Trier before him,¹⁵ but he did use them richly and imaginatively to propagate an image of the majesty of his church as well as a sense of Christian mission.¹⁶ Amongst the inflated claims to antiquity which the great Ottonian churches made in their rivalries with each other, Trier claimed to have been founded by none other than St Peter, and to validate its claim it preserved the relic of St Peter's staff, which Egbert had encased in a gold and bejewelled container (still surviving in the Limburg cathedral treasure), with enamelled representations of the earliest bishops of Trier, the first three, Eucharius, Valerius and Maternus, reputed followers of Peter himself. As if that were not apostolic support enough, Egbert also had St Andrew's foot, a great relic of his church, placed in a priceless container, a chest with the finest enamels set into it, topped by a golden foot (to be seen in the Trier cathedral treasury). Egbert was also a great patron of illustrated books, in two of which, a book of Gospel readings known as the *Codex Egberti* (at Trier) and a psalter (at Cividale del Friuli), he was himself depicted on the frontispiece in hieratic posture, staring straight ahead as if seated in a world divorced from the earthly one. In these and other books which were written under Egbert,

¹³ Aachen, Dom, Schatzkammer. ¹⁴ Gerbert of Aurillac, *ep.* 106.

¹⁵ Westermann-Angerhausen (1987); (1990), esp. p. 20.

¹⁶ Westermann-Angerhausen (1983); (1973), pp. 66–72.

Westermann-Angerhausen has shown that there are depicted capitals with masques and other ornaments, which would have derived from the capitals of Bishop Nicetus' sixth-century cathedral, covered over by Egbert's own building works on the cathedral. Egbert had twice visited Italy in the entourage of Otto I and Otto II, but Trier itself had an imperial and historic past, if not quite so historic as its church claimed at this time. It had Roman buildings and other remains (a gold coin of Constantine is set into the St Andrew reliquary), and it had Carolingian books, derived from Tours, which were demonstrably the source of many of the ornamental motifs used in the goldsmiths' workshops.¹⁷

As patrons of art Archbishop Egbert and Abbess Matilda may have had at least one point in common, desire to bolster a vulnerable authority. It is easy to think of Egbert's art as expressing the pinnacle of might reached by one of the dominant churches of the tenth century; but it was probably otherwise, for in the ecclesiastical power game of that time, Trier under Egbert appears to have been losing rather than gaining influence. Averil Cameron has shown that similarly in ninth- and tenth-century Byzantium new rituals (and new art) are as much a response to political pressure as an articulation of effortless superiority, that the divine and earthly harmony of imperial art and ceremony could gloss over a much tenser reality.¹⁸ Authority is again at issue in a most remarkable phenomenon of the goldsmith's art in southern France during our period, the statue-reliquary, of which the extraordinary example of St Faith at Conques survives, a statue of gold (over wood) studded with jewels, and representing the saint seated in a hieratic posture like an oriental potentate. Public authority in that region had given way to castellans like the counts of Rouergue exercising power from local castles, and the monastery of Conques was anxious to stress, in this image, that its authority over its lands and men was embodied in a patron saint well capable of giving predators nightmares and worse. All the same, the northern French rationalist Bernard of Angers, a pupil of the great master Bishop Fulbert of Chartres, disapproved of such things. They were common in the Auvergne, he observed, but were a form of idolatry of which he doubted that Jupiter and Mars would think themselves unworthy.¹⁹

A great collector of *objets d'art*, as well as patron of artists, was Gauzlin, abbot of Fleury (1004–30) and half-brother of Robert the Pious; doubtless this relationship to the king of France put him in a useful position to accumulate goodwill offerings, and his monastic biographer, Andrew, was nothing loath to detail them. Bishop Bernard of Cahors, an alumnus of the Fleury school, gave him a golden altar frontal and some finely embroidered altar cloths; and Arnold, count of Gascony, sent him thirteen silver vasa and two pounds of 'Arabic metal' as well as some oriental silks. The abbot himself had a

¹⁷ Westermann-Angerhausen (1987).

¹⁸ Cameron (1987).

¹⁹ *Liber miraculorum sanctae Fidis* 1, 13.

lectern of 'Spanish metal' made, as well as using Spanish copper plaques to enclose the choir at Fleury, while the precentor Helgaud, biographer of King Robert as well as craftsman, made a precentor's baton with a handle of crystal, sparkling with precious stones.²⁰ We are seeing in all this, amongst other things, the build up of a luxury traffic between Spain and the region of the Meuse, connected by the rivers Rhône and Saône and spinning off into other parts of France. The general importance of this great river trade route was long ago established by Maurice Lombard, and in 1950 J. M. Lacarra published a remarkable customs document issued by King Sancho of Navarre in the 1060s, detailing commodities which passed through Jaca at the foot of the Somport Pass in the Pyrenees.²¹ Here we can see dyed Flemish cloths and various forms of weaponry coming down from the north, while Constantinopolitan textiles, Castilian horses and Spanish gold are coming up from the south. Awareness of Spanish wealth helped to draw French knights into an involvement with the *reconquista* in the eleventh century, and the Cordovan as well as Greek textiles and silks witnessed in King Sancho's document contained, we can be sure, those zoomorphic stylisations and geometric designs which held such profound inspiration for the Romanesque sculptors who would translate them into stone capitals.

One cannot ignore the function of fine objects for a political world whose relationships were still sustained as much by gift exchange as by legal contract. The Emperor Otto III, who sought to run his relationship with Doge Peter II Orseolo of Venice (991–1009) along the Byzantine lines of expressing his superiority through the godfatherly status, was offered rich gifts by the Doge when he visited Venice in 1000. He did not accept them all, for fear of looking as if he had visited Venice not purely out of love for his godson (who would have thought of any other motive?), and finally left with only an ivory chair, a silver goblet and a jug with rare ornament.²² Probably it was important for him, as the greater ruler, to accept gifts only of lesser value than he would give, and he subsequently sent the Doge fine works of gold from Pavia and Ravenna. Again, the courtiers of the Emperor Henry II loved to visit Magdeburg because they were always rewarded with splendid gifts from the archbishop, who could tap into an important trade of oriental luxury goods passing down the River Elbe.

BOOK-ILLUMINATION

Whatever the relatively low importance of book-illumination amongst the arts to contemporaries of our period, it speaks to us across the centuries, partly

²⁰ Andrew of Fleury, *Vita Gauzlini abbatis Floriacensis monasterii*, cc. 38, 39, 65, 47.

²¹ Lacarra (1950), text pp. 19–20. ²² Uhlirz (1964).

because of its high rate of survival compared with artefacts in other forms of art, and partly because it is certainly no less effective a medium to express the ideas, attitudes and aesthetic of the age. The principal problem in making an even study of the whole west European world of book art is that the books of the German, or Ottonian, empire bestride that world like a colossus. However much we may give parity to French/west Frankish or Italian metalwork or ivories, when it comes to book-illumination, the Ottonian art runs away with the prize.

One may say this while acknowledging that there were undoubted masterpieces of book art in other regions. In England the Benedictional of St Æthelwold, the *chef d'œuvre* of the Winchester School (c. 970–80), reigns supreme, with its early openness to Byzantine influence, and its majestic Christ scenes and saints' images framed with ebullient foliage ornament derived from Carolingian manuscripts of Rheims. There is also a wealth of other English manuscripts, such as the Bury St Edmunds Psalter (c. 1020) with its brilliant drawings in the margins, while the debt to Anglo-Saxon art of the great art patron and artist Abbot Otbert of Saint-Bertin (probably 989–1007) in Flanders, particularly in his Gospel Book and Psalter now at Boulogne, is generally acknowledged. English book art was very different from Ottonian. Expressed briefly, one might say that whereas Ottonian illumination derives its character from work in gold and enamel, English art is more linear (to take up a theme expounded by Nikolaus Pevsner in his *The Englishness of English Art*),²³ more draughtsmanly, more closely related to the world of its great calligraphers, though great calligraphers worked on Ottonian books too. The impulses of patronage, however, from kingly rule and the episcopal *Tremendum* which was so important a means of sustaining that rule, were similar in both societies; Æthelwold, bishop of Winchester (964–84), is comparable to Egbert, archbishop of Trier (977–93), in his closeness to a royal court and in the projection of his own mighty image through art. The vital difference – and it is a point which always has to be borne in mind when considering art patronage in this period – is that while Æthelwold's art reflects a waxing of Winchester within the English church, Egbert's would appear more as a response to the waning of Trier within the imperial church.²⁴ Æthelwold rides on the crest of a wave; Egbert faces the pressure of a stormy sea.

The finest French book art of the tenth and early eleventh centuries drew its inspiration first and foremost from Carolingian and pre-Carolingian traditions of that region. The so-called First Bible of St Martial, Limoges (c. 1000, BN lat. 5), has a wonderful series of ornamented initial letters with very lively zoomorphic and plant decoration, which takes one back to the great bibles of

²³ Pevsner (1956), ch 5. ²⁴ Mayr-Harting (1991b), pp. 82–8.

ninth-century Tours, and, in their animal forms, to works such as the eighth-century Gellone Sacramentary. We are dealing here with first-rate artists, but ones who appear indifferent to the figural art of the Ottonian books, or indeed of the Turonian bibles. The concern of these artists was not with projecting the image of an all but non-existent west Frankish royal power or of an episcopate which had little existence independent of the aristocratic power structure; it was with embellishing the studies and liturgy of an important monastery far from the islet of effective Capetian rule.

Neither Spain nor Italy is lacking in notable works of book art in our period. In Spain we have above all the series of illustrations to Beatus' Commentary on the Apocalypse. If one wishes to see in something of their purity the late antique traditions of Apocalypse illustration, which were transformed in style by the Mozarabic modifications, one should consider (as Florentine Mutherich has pointed out) the Beatus commissioned by Abbot Gregory of Saint-Sever (1028–73), for which the artist used a Spanish model.²⁵ In south Italy there is the rich series of Exultet Rolls, and, in the eleventh century, the rise of narrative illustration connected to the life of St Benedict, at Monte Cassino; in the north there were interesting provincial schools like that of Bishop Warmund of Ivrea (c. 969–1011), another bishop who liked to have himself depicted in books, but who in real politics was (as a supporter of the Ottonians) under great pressure from Arduin of Ivrea. The illuminated books of Warmund, principally his Sacramentary and Psalter, both at Ivrea to this day (Codd. 85 and 86), show a variety of iconographic influences from Carolingian and Ottonian art, and no doubt from earlier Italian books which also influenced these. The Psalter shows the liking for monumental standing figures evidenced also in the Prayer Book of Archbishop Arnulf of Milan (c. 1000, BL, MS Egerton 3763), and in early Italian wall-paintings, as Hans Belting has shown.²⁶ The Warmund style, however, is a world away from anything Carolingian or Ottonian, showing how little political influence carries with it the assumption of accompanying artistic influence. The draughtsmanship is clumsy, but for all that, its potentiality for great liveliness is realised in a series of feverish illustrations to the *ordo in agendis mortuorum* in the Sacramentary, showing the death and burial of a man while his grieving wife or mother becomes more and more distraught, until she has to be restrained at the graveside. As to the principal colour tones of blue, green, pink and yellow in the Sacramentary, they have little to do with the work of goldsmiths and enamel workers, but rather more, perhaps, with that of muralists who were so important in north Italian art at this time. One may confirm this from the nearby contemporary wall-paintings in the cathedral baptistry at Novara.

²⁵ Mutherich (1973), pp. 195–6.

²⁶ Belting (1967).

Because of the supremacy of Ottonian book-illumination in our period, however, we shall make our points about patrons and artists largely through it. First, we have to ask how Ottonian book-illumination began, after the long hiatus (for the most part) from the late ninth century to the 960s, generally presumed to be caused by external threats and unsteady politics. My answer would be that Otto I and his court played no small part as a stimulus, but this must remain in the nature of an argument or a hypothesis, for it cannot be proved. The Ottonians never had any court school of illumination as the Carolingians had, where production of *de luxe* manuscripts, especially of the Gospels, was directly under their control. Under Otto III and Henry II, and also under Henry III, certain monasteries, such as Reichenau, St Emmeram of Regensburg, and Echternach, worked for the ruler, but in the cases of Otto I and Otto II we cannot even name any surviving manuscript which was certainly produced for either of them. The case for Otto I's stimulus, therefore, is based on a number of convergent indicators. His general interest in books is explicitly testified, not in the early part of his long reign when he gave a very exiguously ornamented Gospel Book to his brother-in-law, Æthelstan of Wessex, but in the later part. Widukind says, 'after the death of Queen Edith [946], whereas previously he knew nothing of letters, he learned them to such an extent that he could read and understand books fully'.²⁷ Culturally Otto I's horizons broadened manifestly in the latter half of his reign. In 968 he finally established the archbishopric of Magdeburg as a lynchpin of his ecclesiastical organisation to the Slav east, together with several suffragan sees and dependent monasteries. In his foundation document he stressed his own initiative, and indeed this had been a central project of his since 955. Suddenly a huge new need arose for fine liturgical books as well as library books; Otto I realised this, for Thietmar of Merseburg says that he endowed Magdeburg generously 'in estates, books, and other royal splendour' (suggesting ornamented books).²⁸

There seems little doubt now that perhaps the two greatest works in the initial Ottonian revival of book-illumination, the Gero Codex (Darmstadt, MS 1948) and the Codex Wittekindeus (Berlin, Staatsbibliothek, MS theol. lat. fol. 1), were made respectively at the monasteries of Reichenau and Fulda. Both these monasteries had particularly close connections with Otto I and his court; the emperor is known to have visited Reichenau in 965 and again in 972, the very period when the Gero Codex would have been in the making. Moreover the Gero Codex, which is a book of Gospel pericopes, has a liturgical calendar in which the only non-New Testament based feasts are those of St Laurence and the Maccabees. These two feasts were amongst the normal celebrations of the Roman calendar in the tenth century, but singled out in this way they

²⁷ Widukind, *Res gestae Saxonicae* II, 36, p. 96.

²⁸ Thietmar, *Chronicon* II, 30, p. 76.

represent a virtual hall-mark of Otto I because both bear significantly on his victory over the Hungarians at the Lechfeld in 955. He spent the tenth anniversary of this victory, the feast of St Laurence 965, at Merseburg, where he had vowed on the battlefield to establish a church in honour of that saint whose feast it was. The liturgy of books and the liturgy of public life were not two separate issues in his time. The Maccabees' resistance to the Seleucids was seen as a veritable biblical type of the Ottonians' resistance to the invading Hungarians. The Gero who commissioned the book and is shown receiving it cannot be identified with certainty, but there are several good reasons for regarding that Gero who was archbishop of Cologne from 969 to 976 as the likeliest candidate, and he had been a court chaplain of Otto I before his elevation. As to the Codex Wittekindeus, a book of the four Gospels, its earliest known provenance was the monastery of Enger, which was granted by Otto I to the archbishopric of Magdeburg in 968.

The greatest book painter of the early period of Ottonian artistic efflorescence was the Gregory Master; he was an expert calligrapher and furthermore no other artist shows such mastery of how to handle his late antique prototypes, their modelling and perspectives. We cannot name him; indeed it is a sad fact that we cannot name a single Ottonian book painter in relation to any particular book; but we can trace him through his work in a period of activity which spanned the last three decades of the tenth century. Art historians have given him his title from a double page of miniatures depicting Pope Gregory the Great dictating his *Dialogues* (Trier, MS 171/1626) and the Emperor Otto II seated in majesty surrounded by personifications of imperial provinces (Chantilly, MS 146). He appears to have been based at Trier in Archbishop Egbert's time (977–93), but he also worked with and for the churches of Lorsch, Reichenau and probably Fulda. He was very peripatetic, which might suggest that he was a layman but was by no means incompatible with his being a monk in those times of so many connected monasteries with their confraternity arrangements. Now if Hartmut Hoffmann is right that he was the artist of the Marriage Roll of the Empress Theophanu (972), a magnificent document written in gold letters on purple grounds with vivid drawings of lions and griffins, and the case is a persuasive one,²⁹ then this becomes his first known work, and it was produced under the patronage of the Ottonian court in the reign of Otto I. Hoffmann has also established that the script of this document was Fulda, and so it was produced in conjunction with Fulda, around the period of the Codex Wittekindeus. And by 972 Egbert, who would become the Gregory Master's principal patron, was a court chaplain. Hoffmann himself prefers to regard this Marriage Document as a feature of the new culture of

²⁹ Hoffmann (1986), pp. 103–16.

Otto II, co-ruler with his father from 961, rather than of the *aurea mediocritas* of Otto I. It makes little difference to the main argument – the likely court stimulus of early Ottonian book art, even though there was no court school.

The high point of Ottonian book-illumination comes with a series of books made at Reichenau or Regensburg for Otto III (983–1002) and Henry II (1002–24), such as the Aachen Gospels (Aachen Minster), the Gospel Book of Otto III at Munich (Clm 4453), the Bamberg Apocalypse (Bamberg, Bibl. 140), the Pericopes Book of Henry II (Clm 4452) (all Reichenau) and the Regensburg Sacramentary of Henry II (Clm 4456). These are amongst the summits of western civilisation. They contain images of the rulers which give the royal/imperial ideology a very high pitch, not to speak of their superlative series of New Testament scenes. Of the ruler image in the Aachen Gospels, for instance, Hagen Keller has observed that, whereas Carolingian kings are depicted as in this life and as interacting presidents of their courts, Otto III is removed from his sub-kings and courtiers and sits in a ‘super-earthly sphere’, stiff and frontal in posture like a Christ in Majesty.³⁰ That is typical for the Ottonians.

Given that Reichenau and Regensburg were not court schools but rather monasteries which undertook work for the court, it is reasonable to pose the question whether these ruler images stem from the court ideology, whether they are painted on the instructions of the court patrons so to speak, or whether the monasteries themselves actually formulated this ideology through art in order to win court favour for themselves. These are, however, stark alternatives; they suggest too low an idea of the cultural integration of the great imperial monasteries with the court itself. We have to remember that Ottonian kingship was itinerant, a fact which would have brought the kings to such monasteries more often than we can now tell from the surviving evidence. Moreover their abbots were often close friends, or *familiares*, of the rulers; in an itinerant kingship the circle of *familiares* is not confined to those ‘at court’. Abbot Alawich II of Reichenau (997–1000) was on friendly enough terms with Otto III to join him at Rome in 998 and to be made bishop of Strasbourg by him two years later. Henry II knew personally not only Abbot Berno of Reichenau (1008–48) but also others of the monks in the monastery, while he had himself been educated at St Emmeram of Regensburg, as had his earliest principal adviser, Tagino, archbishop of Magdeburg (1004–12).

We do not have any evidence to know how court patrons actually dealt with monastic artists in the case of Ottonian books, but in so far as we can make deductions, these have to allow for a positive court input to explain the ruler imagery and other ruler-related imagery in them. For instance, the Otto III

³⁰ Keller (1985), pp. 302–5.

image of the Aachen Gospels, which most commentators would now date to after his imperial coronation of 996, appears to draw on the inspiration of tenth-century Byzantine ivories of the Ascension, depicting Christ not standing in the usual western fashion, but seated on an orb as he ascends to heaven. Reichenau had been an eager recipient of Byzantine culture throughout the tenth century; however, this is not something which sets it over against Otto III's court, but something which the two institutions share. More particularly, it is hardly likely that Reichenau was responsible for fixing Ascension Day, with all its connotations of Christ ideology and apotheosis, as the feast on which Otto III's imperial coronation was set in 996. Equally the Rome emphasis in the ruler imagery of the Munich Gospel Book could not possibly be explained without reference to the influence of the court chaplain, Leo of Vercelli, on Otto III in this respect. The rare splendour for this period of the depiction of St John the Baptist's Nativity in the Pericopes Book of Henry II, and its hieratic character, may have been the idea of the Reichenau artist, but if so, it cannot have been conceived without a good knowledge of ideas already existing in Henry II's head. For he had celebrated the feast of the Baptist's Nativity at Reichenau itself in 1002 during his *Umrirt*, that is, when he travelled around his kingdom to gain acceptance for his kingship by public ritual acclamation after an intense struggle earlier in the year. It was certainly not Reichenau which was responsible for the subsequent emphasis on the *Umrirt* as a validation of Henry's kingship. One could say much more about the correspondence between court thinking and ruler imagery if space permitted.

The question whether it was patron who specified the ruler images or artist who suggested them is therefore to some extent an unreal one. When Rubens painted his great cycle of pictures glorifying the Regency of Marie de Medici, the latter's conception of her political *persona* and aims are not the less dominant in Rubens' scenes because many of their subjects derived from his own suggestions. Rubens was a learned man and so were many Ottonian artists. We may not be able to name any artist in connection with a particular work, but we know something about artists generically. The scheme of illustration for the Uta Codex of Regensburg, highly theological in content, was devised by a monk called Hartwic, who had studied under the learned Fulbert of Chartres.³¹ A Trier artist called Benna, painting at Wilton in the 980s, was not only renowned for his art but also respected for his learning. At Fulda, whose main business in book-illumination appears to have been the production of mass-books, not least for export, we know, from the monastery's records of deaths, of a person called Ruotbraht, subdeacon, monk and painter (*pictor* could mean a wall painter, or book painter, or most likely both), who died in 977. A subdea-

³¹ Bischoff (1967a).

con, if only in his twenties, must have had a certain degree of learning as well as clearly defined liturgical responsibilities within the Mass. Whichever way we look at it, therefore, the most satisfactory idea to have in mind is neither that of the rigid orders of a patron nor that of the surprise packet of a clever artist, but of an interaction between the requirements of patron and their creative realisation by artist, through intelligent dialogue.

This area of relations between patron and artist is where an important point established by Hartmut Hoffmann may fit in. In several Ottonian manuscripts we find a picture of a cleric proffering the book to its ultimate earthly recipient (I am not speaking here of the *traditio* to a saint), such as Liuthar to Otto III in the Aachen Gospels, or Ruodpreht to Archbishop Egbert in the Egbert Psalter at Cividale (MS 136), or the two Reichenau monks Kerald and Heribert in the Codex Egberti (Trier, MS 24). Hoffmann has shown that such a figure would perhaps never have been the artist, and that only in rare cases can he be said to be the scribe, as with Eburnant in the Hornbach Sacramentary of Reichenau. *Stifter*, or donors, is the term he uses for these clerics.³² That does not necessarily mean that they paid for the materials and work of the manuscript; though it could mean that, even if such a one were a monk, for monks often had rich families. Liuthar, Hoffmann says, could have been the scribe, or he could have been the current leader of the Reichenau scriptorium, but what matters is that he acts here as a respected representative of his community. Ruodpreht, of the Egbert Psalter, is an even more interesting case. If he was a scribe, why should he be singled out amongst the several Reichenau scribes whom Hoffmann shows to have participated in the manuscript? Indeed, he need have had nothing to do with Reichenau, and was probably a monk or abbot of Egbert's circle, the *Stifter*. Now when one studies the Codex Egberti and the Egbert Psalter as a whole (as I have done elsewhere), it is clear that they are deeply shot through with Archbishop Egbert's own concerns and preoccupations. Their mode and matter can in no way have been left to the unaided discretion of Reichenau. Egbert himself had probably visited Reichenau at least once during his archiepiscopate, on his way back from Italy in 983. But Egbert's protégé, the Gregory Master, himself painted the first illustrations in the Codex Egberti, and should he not be seen, together perhaps with the Reichenau monks Kerald and Heribert, as the ideal mediator between patron and scriptorium? Likewise, perhaps, Ruodpreht in the case of the Egbert Psalter?

CONCLUSION

As we contemplate Ottonian art we are drawn back ever and anon to liturgy, to art as a means of ritualising religious experience and political power relations.

³² Hoffmann (1986), pp. 42–7.

Rulers, especially Henry II, appear constantly as if they were the central actors in church services, and several sacramentaries, or mass-books, of Henry II's time carry in their calendars the day of his kingly consecration, his *dies ordinationis*. It is vital, however, not to treat Ottonian art as if it were all ideology, even religious ideology, that is, as if its sole function was to be an instrument in the Ottonian power game. In any power game religious art would be a worthless instrument unless it could appeal to a body of believers whose own religious experience was at least in some degree independent of political motivations. That is why it is important to study the religious culture of the great centres of Ottonian artistic production without seeing politics round every corner, and the religious culture of their patrons. For example, let us by all means remember that in the Munich Gospel Book of Otto III the Christ scenes project an image of a Christ-Emperor, who thereby in some sort canonises the authority of the earthly emperor; but let us not overlook, when we contemplate, say, the poignant scene of the Repentant Mary Magdalene in that same book, that Otto III owned a prayer book, one of whose prayers, headed 'whoever prays this prayer shall not feel the torments of hell in eternity', says, 'be mild to me as you were to Mary the whore, and fill my eyes with tears as you filled hers when she washed your feet and wiped them with her hair'.³³

³³ Pommersfelden, Schloss, MS 347, fols 31r–34v.

ABBREVIATIONS

<i>AASS</i>	<i>Acta Sanctorum quotquot toto orbe coluntur</i> , ed. J. Bollandus <i>et al.</i> , Antwerp and Brussels (1634–)
Adalbert, <i>Reginonis Continuatio</i>	Adalbert of St Maximin, <i>Reginonis Continuatio</i> , ed. F. Kurze, Regino of Prüm, <i>Chronicon</i> , pp. 154–79
Adam of Bremen, <i>Gesta</i>	Adam of Bremen, <i>Gesta Hammaburgensis ecclesiae pontificum</i> , ed. B. Schmeidler, <i>MGH SRG</i> 11, Hanover (1917)
Adhémar, <i>Chronicon</i>	Adhémar of Chabannes, <i>Chronicon</i> , ed. J. Chavanon, <i>Adémar de Chabannes, Chronique publiée d'après les manuscrits</i> , Paris (1897)
<i>AfD</i>	<i>Archiv für Diplomatik</i>
<i>AHP</i>	<i>Archivum historiae pontificae</i>
<i>AHR</i>	<i>American Historical Review</i>
<i>AKG</i>	<i>Archiv für Kulturgeschichte</i>
<i>An. Boll.</i>	<i>Analecta Bollandiana</i>
<i>Annales ESC</i>	<i>Annales: Economies, Sociétés, Civilisations</i>
<i>AQ</i>	<i>Ausgewählte Quellen zur deutschen Geschichte des Mittelalters (Freiberr-von-Stein-Gedächtnis-Ausgabe)</i>
<i>ASC</i>	<i>Anglo-Saxon Chronicle</i> , trans. Whitelock, <i>EHD</i> , pp. 145–245
<i>ASE</i>	<i>Anglo-Saxon England</i>
BAR	British Archaeological Reports
<i>BEC</i>	<i>Bibliothèque de l'Ecole des Chartes</i>
<i>BHL</i>	<i>Bibliotheca hagiographica latina, subsidia hagiographica</i> VI, Brussels (1898–1901), <i>Supplementum, subsidia hagiographica</i> XII, Brussels (1911); <i>Novum supplementum, subsidia hagiographica</i> LXX, Brussels (1986)

Bib. Mun.	Bibliothèque Municipale
BL MS	London, British Library manuscript
<i>BMGS</i>	<i>Byzantine and Modern Greek Studies</i>
BN lat., BN n.a. lat.	Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, manuscrit latin; nouvelles acquisitions latines
<i>BSI</i>	<i>Byzantinoslavica</i>
<i>Byz</i>	<i>Byzantion</i>
<i>Byzbulg</i>	<i>Byzantinobulgarica</i>
<i>BZ</i>	<i>Byzantinische Zeitschrift</i>
CBA	Council for British Archaeology
CCCM	Corpus Christianorum, Continuatio mediavalis, Turnhout (1966–)
CCM	Corpus consuetudinem monasticarum, ed. K. Hallinger, Siegburg (1963–)
CCSL	Corpus Christianorum, series latina, Turnhout, (1952–)
CFHB	Corpus fontium historiae Byzantinae
CIm	Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Codex Latinus Monacensis
D(D)	Diploma(ta), cited by number in the following editions:
D B I	Berengar I, king of Italy, <i>Diplomata</i> , ed. L. Schiaparelli, <i>I diplomi di Berengario I</i> (<i>sec. IX–X</i>) (Fonti per la storia d'Italia 35), Rome (1903)
D C I	Conrad I, king of east Francia, <i>Diplomata</i> , ed. T. Sickel, <i>Die Urkunden Konrad I., Heinrich I. und Otto I.</i> (MGH Dip. regum 1), Hanover (1879–84)
D C II	Conrad II, emperor, <i>Diplomata</i> , ed. H. Bresslau, <i>Die Urkunden Konrads II.</i> (MGH Dip. regum 1v) Berlin (1909)
D Ch S	Charles the Simple, king of west Francia, <i>Acta</i> , ed. P. Lauer, <i>Recueil des actes de Charles III le Simple, roi de France, 893–923</i> , Paris (1949)
D H I	Henry I, king of east Francia, <i>Diplomata</i> , ed. T. Sickel, <i>Die Urkunden Konrad I., Heinrich I. und Otto I.</i> (MGH Dip. regum 1), Hanover (1879–84)
D H II	Henry II, king of east Francia and emperor, <i>Diplomata</i> , ed. H. Bresslau, H. Bloch,

- R. Holtzmann, M. Meyer and H. Wibel,
(MGH Dip. regum III), Hanover
(1900–3)
- D Hugh Hugh, king of Italy, *Diplomata*, ed. L. Schiaparelli, *I diplomi di Ugo e di Lotario, di Berengario II e di Adalberto (secolo X)* (Fonti per la storia d'Italia 38), Rome (1924)
- D L IV Louis IV, king of west Francia, *Acta*, ed. P. Lauer, *Recueil des actes de Louis IV, roi de France (936–954)*, Paris (1914)
- D L C Louis the Child, king of east Francia, *Diplomata*, ed. T. Schieffer, *Die Urkunden Zwentibolds und Ludwigs des Kindes* (MGH Dip. Germ. IV), Berlin (1960)
- D L G Louis (the German), king of east Francia, *Diplomata*, ed. P. Kehr, *Ludwig des Deutschen, Karlmanns und Ludwigs des Jüngeren Die Urkunden* (MGH Dip. Germ. I), Berlin (1932–4)
- D Lo Lothar, king of west Francia, *Acta*, ed. L. Halphen and F. Lot, *Recueil des actes de Lothaire et Louis V, rois de France (954–987)*, Paris (1908)
- D Lothar Lothar, king of Italy, *Diplomata*, ed. L. Schiaparelli, *I diplomi di Ugo e di Lotario, di Berengario II e di Adalberto (secolo X)* (Fonti per la storia d'Italia 38), Rome (1924)
- D O I Otto I, king of east Francia, *Diplomata*, ed. T. Sickel, *Die Urkunden Konrad I., Heinrich I., und Otto I.* (MGH Dip. regum I), 2 vols., Hanover (1879–84)
- D O II Otto II, *Diplomata*, ed. T. Sickel, *Die Urkunden Otto des II.* (MGH Dip. regum II.1), Hanover (1888)
- D O III Otto III, *Diplomata*, ed. T. Sickel, *Die Urkunden Otto des III.* (MGH Dip. regum II.2), Hanover (1893)
- D Ra Radulf (Raoul), king of west Francia, *Acta*, ed. R.-H. Bautier and J. Dufour, *Recueil des actes de Robert Ier et de Raoul, rois de France, 922–936*, Paris (1978)
- D Ro I Robert I, king of west Francia, *Acta*, ed.

	R.-H. Bautier and J. Dufour, <i>Recueil des actes de Robert Ier et de Raoul, rois de France, 922–936</i> , Paris (1978)
D Ro II	Robert II, king of west Francia, <i>Acta</i> , ed. W. M. Newman, <i>Catalogue des actes de Robert II, roi de France</i> , Paris (1937)
DA	<i>Deutsches Archiv für Erforschung des Mittelalters</i>
DAI	Constantine VII Porphyrogenitus, <i>De administrando imperio</i> , ed. and trans. G. Moravcsik and R. J. H. Jenkins (CFHB 1 = Dumbarton Oaks Texts 1), Washington, DC (1967)
DC	Constantine VII Porphyrogenitus, <i>De cerimoniis aulae byzantinae</i> , ed. I. I. Reiske, 2 vols., Bonn (1829).
DOP	Dumbarton Oaks Papers
DOT	Dumbarton Oaks Texts
EHD	Dorothy Whitelock (ed.), <i>English Historical Documents 1, c. 500–1042</i> , 2nd edn (London, 1979)
EHR	<i>English Historical Review</i>
EME	<i>Early Medieval Europe</i>
ep(p).	<i>epistola(e)</i>
Eparcb	<i>The Book of The Eparcb</i> , ed. and trans. J. Koder, <i>Das Eparcbenbuch Leons des Weisen</i> (CFHB 33, Series Vindobonensis), Vienna (1991)
Flodoard, <i>Annales</i>	Flodoard, <i>Annales</i> , ed. P. Lauer, <i>Les annales de Flodoard publiées d'après les manuscrits</i> , Paris (1905)
Flodoard, <i>HRE</i>	Flodoard, <i>Historia Remensis ecclesiae</i> , ed. M. Stratmann, <i>MGH SS xxxvi</i> , Hanover (1998),
FmaSt	<i>Frühmittelalterliche Studien</i>
fol.	folio
FSI	Fonti per la storia d'Italia (Istituto storico per il medio evo) (1887–)
Fulbert, <i>Ep(p)</i> .	<i>The Letters and Poems of Fulbert of Chartres</i> , ed. and trans. F. Behrends, Oxford (1976)
Gerbert, <i>Ep(p)</i> .	Gerbert of Aurillac, <i>Epistolae</i> , ed. F. Weigle, <i>Die Briefsammlung Gerberts von Reims (MGH Die</i>

	<i>Briefe der deutschen Kaiserzeit</i> II), Weimar (1966)
<i>HJb</i>	<i>Historisches Jahrbuch</i>
<i>HZ</i>	<i>Historische Zeitschrift</i>
<i>JEccH</i>	<i>Journal of Ecclesiastical History</i>
<i>JL</i>	P. Jaffé, <i>Regesta pontificum romanorum</i> , 2nd edn, ed. S. Loewenfeld, with F. Kaltenbrunner and P. Ewald, Leipzig (1885–8)
<i>JMH</i>	<i>Journal of Medieval History</i>
Liudprand, <i>Antapodosis</i>	Liudprand of Cremona, <i>Antapodosis</i> , ed. J. Becker, <i>Liudprandi opera</i> (MGH SRG xLI), Hanover (1915), pp. 1–158
Liudprand, <i>Historia</i>	Liudprand of Cremona, <i>Liber de rebus gestis Ottonis Magni imperatoris</i> , ed. J. Becker, <i>Liudprandi opera</i> (MGH SRG xLI), Hanover (1915), pp. 159–75
Liudprand, <i>Relatio</i>	Liudprand of Cremona, <i>Relatio de legatione Constantinopolitana</i> , ed. J. Becker, <i>Liudprandi opera</i> (MGH SRG xLI), Hanover (1915), pp. 175–212
<i>MA</i>	<i>Le Moyen Age</i>
Mansi	J. D. Mansi, <i>Sacrorum Conciliorum nova et amplissima collectio</i> , Florence and Venice (1757–98)
<i>MGH</i>	<i>Monumenta Germaniae Historica</i> , with subseries:
<i>AA</i>	<i>Auctores antiquissimi</i> , 15 vols., Berlin (1877–1919)
<i>Cap.</i>	<i>Capitularia. Legum sectio</i> II, <i>Capitularia regum Francorum</i> , ed. A. Boretius and V. Krause, 2 vols., Hanover (1883–97)
<i>Cap. episc.</i>	<i>Capitula episcoporum</i> , ed. P. Brommer, Hanover (1984)
<i>Conc.</i>	<i>Concilia. Legum sectio</i> III, <i>Concilia</i> , II, ed. A. Werminghoff, Hanover (1906–8); III, ed. W. Hartmann, Hanover (1984); IV, ed. W. Hartmann, Hanover (1998)
<i>Const.</i>	<i>Constitutiones et acta publica imperatorum et regum inde ab a. DCCCXI usque ad a. MCXCCVII (911–1197)</i> , ed. L. Weiland, Hanover (1893)
<i>Dip. Germ.</i>	<i>Diplomata regum Germaniae ex stirpe Karolinorum: Die Urkunden der deutschen Karolinger</i> I, ed.

<i>MGH</i> (cont.)	P. Kehr, Berlin (1932–4); II, ed. P. Kehr, Berlin (1936–7); III, ed. P. Kehr, Berlin (1956); IV, ed. T. Schieffer, Berlin (1960)
<i>Dip. Kar.</i>	<i>Diplomata Karolinorum: Die Urkunden der Karolinger</i> I and III, ed. E. Mühlbacher and T. Schieffer, Hanover (1893–1908)
<i>Dip. regum</i>	<i>Diplomata regum et imperatorum Germaniae: Die Urkunden der deutschen Könige und Kaiser</i> I, ed. T. Sickel, Hanover (1879–84); II.1, ed. T. Sickel, Hanover (1888); II.2, ed. T. Sickel, Hanover (1893); III, ed. H. Bresslau, H. Bloch and R. Holtzmann, Hanover (1900–3); IV, ed. H. Bresslau, Berlin (1909)
<i>Epp.</i>	<i>Epistolae</i> III–VIII (= <i>Epistolae Merovingici et Karolini aevi</i> , Hanover (1892–1939)
<i>Epp. sel.</i>	<i>Epistolae selectae in usum scholarum</i> , 5 vols., Hanover (1887–91)
<i>Fontes</i>	<i>Fontes iuris Germanici antiqui in usum scholarum ex Monumentis Germaniae Historicis separatim editi</i> , 13 vols., Hanover (1909–86)
<i>Form.</i>	<i>Formulae Merovingici et Karolini aevi</i> , ed. K. Zeumer, <i>Legum sectio V</i> , Hanover (1886)
<i>Leges nat. Germ.</i>	<i>Leges nationum Germanicarum</i> , ed. K. Zeumer (<i>Lex Visigothorum</i>); L. R. de Salis (<i>Leges Burgundionum</i>); F. Beyerle and R. Buchner (<i>Lex Ribnaria</i>); K. A. Eckhardt (<i>Pactus legis Salicae</i> and <i>Lex Salica</i>); E. von Schwind (<i>Lex Baiuvariorum</i>), 6 vols. in 11 parts, Hanover (1892–1969)
<i>Lib. mem.</i>	<i>Libri memoriales</i> , and <i>Libri memoriales et Necrologia nova series</i> , Hanover (1979–)
<i>Nec. Germ.</i>	<i>Necrologia Germaniae</i> , 5 vols. and Suppl. Hanover (1886–1920)
<i>Poet.</i>	<i>Poetae Latini aevi Carolini</i> , ed. E. Dümmler, L. Traube, P. von Winterfeld and K. Strecker, 4 vols., Hanover (1881–99)
<i>SRG</i>	<i>Scriptores rerum Germanicarum in usum scholarum separatim editi</i> , 63 vols., Hanover (1871–1987)
<i>SRL</i>	<i>Scriptores rerum Langobardicarum et Italicarum saec. VI–IX</i> , ed. G. Waitz, Hanover (1878)
<i>SRM</i>	<i>Scriptores rerum Merovingicarum</i> , ed. B. Krusch

<i>MGH</i> (cont.)	and W. Levison, 7 vols., Hanover (1885–1920)
<i>SS</i>	<i>Scriptores</i> (in Folio), 30 vols., Hanover (1824–1924)
<i>MIÖG</i>	<i>Mitteilungen des Instituts für Österreichische Geschichtsforschung</i> (1922–1944, <i>Mitteilungen des Österreichischen Instituts für Geschichtsforschung</i>)
EB	<i>MIÖG, Ergänzungsband</i>
MMS	Münstersche Mittelalterschriften
MS	Manuscript
<i>NA</i>	<i>Neues Archiv der Gesellschaft für ältere deutsche Geschichtskunde</i> , continued as <i>Deutsches Archiv für Erforschung des Mittelalters</i>
N.F.	Neue Folge
n.s.	nova series, new series
<i>PG</i>	<i>Patrologiae cursus completus, series graeca</i> , ed. J.-P. Migne, 161 vols. (Paris, 1857–66)
<i>PL</i>	<i>Patrologiae cursus completus, series latina</i> , ed. J.-P. Migne, 221 vols., Paris (1841–64)
<i>QFLAB</i>	<i>Quellen und Forschungen aus italienischen Archiven und Bibliotheken</i>
Radulf Glaber, <i>Historiae</i>	Radulf Glaber, <i>Historiarum libri quinque</i> , ed. with English trans. J. France, Oxford (1989)
<i>RB</i>	<i>Revue Bénédictine</i>
Regino, <i>Chronicon</i>	Regino of Prüm, <i>Chronicon</i> , ed. F. Kurze, <i>Reginonis abbatis Prumiensis Chronicon cum continuatione Treverensi</i> , <i>MGH SRG L</i> , Hanover (1890)
<i>RHEF</i>	<i>Revue d'Histoire de l'Eglise de France</i>
<i>RHF</i>	<i>Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres, Recueil des historiens des Gaules et de la France</i> , series in folio, eds. M. Bouquet and M.-J.-J. Brial, revised by L. Delisle, 19 vols., Paris (1869–80)
<i>RbVjb</i>	<i>Rheinische Vierteljahrsblätter</i>
Richer, <i>Historiae</i>	Richer, <i>Historiae</i> , ed. and trans. R. Latouche, Richer, <i>Histoire de France (888–995)</i> (Classiques de l'histoire de France au moyen âge), 2 vols., Paris (1930, 1937; repr. 1960, 1964)
<i>RISS</i>	<i>Rerum italicarum scriptores</i> , ed. L. A. Muratori, 25 vols., Milan (1723–51); new edn, G. Carducci and V. Fiorini, Città di Castello and Bologna (1900–)

<i>s.a.</i>	<i>sub anno</i>
Sawyer	P. H. Sawyer, <i>Anglo-Saxon Charters: A Handlist</i> , London (1968)
<i>Settimane</i>	<i>Settimane di Studio del Centro Italiano di Studi sull'alto medioevo</i> (Spoleto 1955–)
Skylitzes, <i>Synopsis</i>	John Skylitzes, <i>Synopsis historiarum</i> , ed. I. Thurn (CFHB 5, Series Berolinensis), Berlin and New York (1973)
<i>SM</i>	<i>Studi Mediaevali</i>
<i>StMGBO</i>	<i>Studien und Mitteilungen zur Geschichte des Benediktiner-Ordens und seiner Zweige</i>
Thietmar, <i>Chronicon</i>	Thietmar of Merseburg, <i>Chronicon</i> , ed. R. Holtzmann (<i>MGH SRG N.S.</i> 1x, Berlin (1935))
<i>TRHS</i>	<i>Transactions of the Royal Historical Society</i>
Vat. (lat.; pal. lat.; reg. lat.)	Bibliotheca Apostolica Vaticana, MS (latinus; palatinus latinus; reginensis latinus)
<i>VSWG</i>	<i>Vierteljahresschrift für Wirtschaftsgeschichte</i>
VuF	Vorträge und Forschungen, herausgegeben vom Konstanzer Arbeitskreis für mittelalterliche Geschichte
Widukind, <i>Res gestae Saxonicae</i>	<i>Widukindi monachi Corbeiensis rerum gestarum Saxonicarum libri III</i> , ed. P. Hirsch and H.-E. Lohmann (<i>MGH SRG LX</i> , Hanover (1935))
Wipo, <i>Gesta</i>	Wipo, <i>Gesta Chuonradi</i> , ed. H. Bresslau, <i>Wiponis opera</i> (<i>MGH SRG LXI</i>), Hanover (1915), pp. 3–62
<i>ZRG</i>	<i>Zeitschrift der Savigny-Stiftung für Rechtsgeschichte</i>
<i>GA</i>	<i>Germanistische Abteilung</i>
<i>KA</i>	<i>Kanonistische Abteilung</i>

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- Acta synodi Atrebatensis a Gerardo Cameracensi et Atrebatensi episcopo celebrata anno 1025*, ed. P. Fredericq, *Corpus documentorum inquisitionis haereticae pravitatis Neerlandicae*, 5 vols., Ghent (1899–1902), 1, pp. 2–5
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- Aimo of Fleury, *De gestis regum Francorum*, ed. M. Bouquet, *RHF* III, Paris (1869), pp. 21–123
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9 THE OTTONIANS AS KINGS AND EMPERORS

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